

Love Across National Borders

Attitudes towards international couples and
multicultural families in South Korea

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<p>Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract</p> <p>Ennen 1990-luvulla alkanutta maahanmuuttajien aaltoa Etelä-Koreaa pidettiin etnisesti hyvin homogeenisenä, ja korealaiset ovatkin tavallisesti korostaneet kansallista yhtenäisyyttä ajatuksella jaetuista esi-isistä. Väestölliset muutokset, kuten ulkomaalaistaustaisten ihmisten ja monikulttuuristen perheiden määrän lisääntyminen yhteiskunnassa, haastavat perinteisiä ajatusmalleja, minkä vuoksi on tärkeää tutkia muutoksiin liittyviä asenteita. Tästä syystä pro gradu -tutkielmani käsittelee korealaisten asenteita kansainvälisiä pariskuntia ja monikulttuurisia perheitä kohtaan.</p> <p>Seka-avioliittojen esiintymisen yhteiskunnassa on todettu osittain tarkoittavan, että ihmisillä on avoimuutta sekä mahdollisuuksia ryhmien väliseen kanssakäymiseen, minkä vuoksi tutkielma lähestyy asenteita kontaktihypoteesin kautta. Kontaktihypoteesin mukaan ryhmienvälinen positiivisävytteinen kontakti voi vähentää ennakkoluuloja ja parantaa asenteita ryhmien välillä. Välillisen kontaktin hypoteesi sen sijaan esittää, että pelkkä tieto oman ryhmän jäsenen läheisestä suhteesta toisen ryhmän jäseneseen voi muuttaa asenteita positiivisemmiksi.</p> <p>Näiden teorioiden perusteella tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää, vaikuttavatko suora ja välillinen kontakti sekä kanssakäymiseen liittyvät normit asenteisiin kansainvälisiä pareja ja monikulttuurisia perheitä kohtaan Koreassa. Samalla tarkastellaan, millä muilla tekijöillä voi olla vaikutusta asenteisiin. Tutkielma selvittää myös, millaista monikulttuurisuuspolitiikkaa Korean hallitus harjoittaa ja mitä vaikutuksia sillä on kansainvälisiin pariskuntiin ja heidän perheisiinsä. Aineisto kerättiin kahdella kyselylomakkeella, joita jaettiin korealaisten keskuudessa internetin kautta. Tämän lisäksi aineistona käytettiin aiheeseen liittyvää olemassa olevaa tutkimuskirjallisuutta sekä uutisartikkeleita.</p> <p>Kyselytutkimuksen tulosten perusteella kontaktin ja asenteiden välillä on vain heikko positiivinen korrelaatio, mutta muuten tulokset viittaavat yhteyden olemassaoloon: asenteet ovat positiivisempia niillä, jotka ovat säännöllisessä kontaktissa ulkomaalaisten kanssa joko suoraan tai välillisesti. Kanssakäymisen normien positiivisuudella tai negatiivisuudella ei näytä olevan vaikutusta asenteisiin. Muita vaikuttavia tekijöitä ovat parisuhteen tyyppi (seurustelu, avioliitto, lasten hankinta), sukupuoli, ikä ja se, puhutaanko suhteista yleisesti vai itse vastaajan kohdalla. Yleisesti ottaen vastaajat vaikuttavat avoimilta ajatukselle kansainvälisistä parisuhteista ja monikulttuurisista perheistä, mutta vastaajien pieni määrä ja taustojen yksipuolisuus johtavat siihen, ettei tuloksia voi yleistää koskemaan kaikkia korealaisia. Hallituksen monikulttuurisuuspolitiikka keskittyy lähinnä kansantaloudellisten tavoitteiden toteuttamiseen. Koska monikulttuuriset perheet nähdään ratkaisuna alhaisen syntyvyyden nostamiseen, niitä tuetaan erilaisilla assimilaatio-ohjelmilla. Toisaalta monikulttuurisuuspolitiikan patriarkalisuus jättää usein huomiotta pariskunnat, jotka koostuvat korealaisesta vaimosta ja ulkomaalaistaustaisesta miehestä. Kuitenkin on mahdollista, että valtion tuki tekee kansainvälisistä parisuhteista yleisempiä, minkä seurauksena myös asenteet paranevat tulevaisuudessa.</p>		
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1 Introduction

During the time I spent as an exchange student in Seoul, South Korea, from August 2015 to June 2016, I witnessed quite many Koreans in their early 20s dating non-Korean people, or foreigners, as they would see them. Once I asked one of my close friends if she would date someone who is not Korean and she replied: “Maybe, but I don’t think I would marry one.” This idea seemed to be present in the thoughts of many of my Korean acquaintances despite the fact that all of them had foreign friends. Some of them thought it would be too hard to marry and have a family with a foreigner because of cultural differences and language barriers, while some agreed that it would be difficult to gain approval from their parents if they wanted to marry someone who is not Korean.

In spite of these doubts expressed by my acquaintances, it is clear that the amount of intercultural couples and multicultural families in South Korea (henceforth Korea) is on the rise. In the year 2018 it was reported that there were 22,698 marriages registered between Koreans and foreigners, which means an 8.9 % increase in international marriages compared to the previous year (Statistics Korea 2019: 14). Accordingly, the number of multicultural families is also increasing, with children born to international couples contributing as high as 5.2 % of all births in 2017 (Statistics Korea 2018a: 3).

The increase in international marriage and multicultural families is undoubtedly a consequence of globalization which allows for more people to migrate internationally for a multitude of reasons, such as better economic prospects, security and freedom. According to official statistics, the number of foreign residents reached 1.48 million in the late 2017, accounting for 2.9 % of the total population of Korea. The amount of foreigners in the country increased by 4.6 % compared to the previous year. (Statistics Korea 2018b: 2.) The majority of foreign residents are ethnic Korean people from China, constituting for 33.6 % of all foreigners, followed by the Chinese (14.3 %), the Vietnamese (10.0 %) and the Thai (6.3 %). The remaining 35.7 % is composed of people from various countries, such as Uzbekistan, Philippines and the United States. (Ibid. 32.) That being the case, most of the migrants in Korea are from other Asian countries, and ethnic Koreans constitute for a large part of the foreign nationals residing in the country.

These changes in demographics will undoubtedly shake up the ethnic composition of South Korea in the future, which is interesting especially because of Korean ethnic nationalism. Koreans have a tendency to emphasize their belonging into the same bloodline and ancestry, and thus their idea of ethnic homogeneity is deeply embedded into their understanding of nation. The lines between race, ethnicity and nation have been blurred even in the Korean language, as the three concepts can all be described by the same word, *minjok* (민족). (Shin 2006: 4–5.) The perceived ethnic homogeneity is deepened by the belief in the myth of Dangun, who began to be perceived as the procreator and the common ancestor of the Korean people during the era of Japanese imperialism, despite the fact that historically speaking, he is the first king and the founder of the kingdom of Korea instead of a mythical progenitor (Han K. 2007: 24).

Prompted by the experiences of my Korean friends and acquaintances, as well as the aforementioned demographic changes in the Korean society, in this thesis I will study the attitudes Korean people have towards international relationships and marriage, and the multicultural families that are formed as a result of intermarriage. The expressions *international marriage*, *intermarriage* and *mixed marriage* will be used interchangeably throughout the thesis, and will most of the time refer to registered marriages between Korean and non-Korean spouses. *International relationship* and *international couple* will work as a broad expressions to refer to the three types of romantic relationships between Koreans and non-Koreans examined in this thesis: dating, marriage and childbearing. I chose to stick to the word international instead of interracial or interethnic because the word that stands for international in Korean, *gukje* (국제), is usually the word used to refer to such couples and marriages in Korea. The term *multicultural family* on the other hand will refer to a family comprised of a Korean national and marriage migrant or a naturalized Korean citizen, and their possible children, as has been defined in the Multicultural Family Support Act (2011). *Marriage migrant* will be used to allude to foreign nationals who are currently or have been in the past married to Korean citizens, in accordance with the Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea (2017).

The existence of intermarriage in a society implies that the circumstances allow interaction between members of different ethnic and racial groups, and research has

shown that the more opportunities people have to encounter members of other groups, the more common intermarriage is (Dumănescu, Mârza & Eppel 2014: 2–3). Therefore, through the study of attitudes towards mixed marriages one can find out much about the acceptance of different ethnic and racial groups in a society. Kalmijn (1998: 396) writes that in addition to displaying the existence of intergroup interaction, the occurrence of intermarriage also exhibits that members of different groups accept each other as social equals. This idea is strengthened by the intimate and long-lasting nature of marriage. On the contrary, endogamy, the tendency of marrying within the limits of one's own group, can be seen as a form of social closure. Thus, positive attitudes towards international marriage may indicate a more ethnically and racially inclusive society.

Intermarriage, in this case marriage between people of different nationalities, can also have noteworthy consequences on the cultural and socioeconomic transformation of a society. Children born to interethnic or interracial parents are less likely to identify themselves with just a single group, which, in case intermarriage is a common occurrence, might possibly have a transforming effect on the identity of the whole society in the future (Kalmijn 1998: 396.) With the significant increase in the number of multicultural families and mixed children in Korea, it is possible that such changes will happen in the future. For now, however, the children of multicultural families seem to be trapped in a sense of in-betweenness that separates them not only from those whose parents are both ethnically Korean, but also from the foreign heritage of the non-Korean parent (Lee C. S. 2017: 537).

At the same time mixed marriages can result in weakened prejudice and negative attitudes. Through marrying a person who belongs to an outgroup, the amount of close interaction with outgroup members increases, and outgroup members will be seen on a more individual level instead of merely as members of a homogeneous group. This in turn has a positive influence on the lessening of prejudice towards the outgroup as a whole. The effect does not only concern the immediate couple but extends also to other members of their group. (Kalmijn 1998: 396.)

This concept is very similar to what has been proposed in the extended intergroup contact theory, which serves as the theoretical background of this thesis and will be discussed more extensively in Chapter 1. The theory proposes that even indirect

contact, such as knowledge of an ingroup member having friendly contact with outgroup members, is enough to ameliorate intergroup attitudes, as well as reduce prejudice and negative attitudes (Wright, McLaughlin-Volpe & Ropp 1997: 74). The terms *ingroup* and *outgroup* roughly depict any group to which a person belongs and does not belong, respectively. Such groups can be based on factors such as gender, ethnicity or social position. (Spears 2007: 484.) In this thesis, the terms most often refer to Korean people as the ingroup, and people of foreign origin as the outgroup.

On top of the clear increase in the amount of foreigners in Korea during the past few decades, Korean people encounter more foreigners through overseas travel: around 28.7 million Koreans travelled outside the country in the year 2018, which marks a 139 % increase compared to the year 2008 (Korea Tourism Organization 2019: 2). As a result, the opportunities for intergroup contact have undoubtedly become more common and, as discussed earlier, it might be an indicator of the general attitude of the society towards other ethnic and racial groups. Thus, I have chosen to look at the topic of international marriage and multicultural families through the connection between attitudes and intergroup contact. In addition to the intergroup contact theory, the topic of intermarriage is discussed through the recent history and current status of international marriages, multicultural families and the policy of multiculturalism in Korea.

This thesis sets out to discuss the following research questions:

- Does the amount and quality of contact Koreans have with foreigners affect their attitudes towards international marriage and multicultural families?
- Do perceived ingroup and outgroup norms have an effect on the attitudes?
- What other factors contribute to the attitudes of Koreans (e.g. type of relationship, foreigner's country of origin)?
- What kind of a multiculturalism policy does the Korean government practice?
- What kind of implications does the policy and the current state of international couples have for attitudes towards intermarriage and multicultural families in general?

My main hypothesis is that, based on intergroup contact theory, there is a connection between the amount of contact and the perceived ingroup and outgroup norms, and the openness towards intermarriage and multicultural families. In addition, it is presumed that a positive correlation will be found between these factors. I also hypothesize that Koreans are more open to dating foreigners than marrying or having children with them. This is based on the idea that marriage and childbearing require more commitment than casual dating. It is also expected that Korean people have different attitudes towards international relationships and forming a family depending on the possible spouse's home country. This is related to a type of social categorization which implies a racial hierarchy based on economic development and skin color. The reasons behind these hypotheses will be discussed further in the upcoming chapters.

These research questions are examined through various studies and news articles on intermarriage and multiculturalism in Korea. Additionally, I have conducted two surveys among Korean respondents in the spring and early summer of 2019 in order to canvass the attitudes Korean people hold towards intermarriage and multicultural families. The quantitative and qualitative data acquired from these surveys is analyzed to find answers to the research questions and to find a connection between said attitudes and the intergroup contact hypothesis.

My thesis is composed of six chapters. Chapter 2 will provide a brief overview on the recent history and current state of international marriage in Korea, as well as the multicultural policy and general attitudes towards multiculturalism. The third chapter will introduce in more detail the theoretical background of the thesis, starting with the definition of prejudice and the psychology behind it, and then moving on to the intergroup contact and the extended intergroup contact hypothesis. The fourth chapter is concerned with the methodology and data of this study: in this chapter I will discuss the structure of the two conducted surveys, the methods of analysis and the results. Lastly, in Chapter 5 the results of the surveys will be discussed in relation to the research questions, as well as the theoretical background and circumstances in Korea, and the final chapter will conclude the thesis with suggestions for future research on this topic.

2 International marriage and multiculturalism in Korea

The 1990s brought Korea an influx of foreigners, most of whom were foreign migrant workers initially brought into the country through a trainee system established by the government, and marriage migrants, coming mostly from developing countries to marry Korean men in the rural areas (Lee B. 2010: 41–44). Before this development, Korea had been widely considered to be very ethnically and culturally homogeneous because of the very little foreign population (ibid. 37), which strongly supported the ethnic nationalism as discussed in the introduction chapter.

Both types of immigrants are vital for the country in the light of the fast ageing of the population, which poses a grave risk for the national economy. With elders representing 14.2 % of the whole population, Korea officially became an aged population in 2017. This happened only 17 years after being declared an aging population, making it the fastest transition in the world so far. Korea is estimated to reach the status of a super aged country as soon as in 2026, which would mean that the elderly would represent at least 20 % of the population. The rapid ageing of the population caused by the dropping fertility is causing a deficit in the amount of working population. (Bang 2018.) Data from the year 2018 shows the fertility rate has since dropped as low as 0.98 (Jeong, E. 2019).

Because of this demographic deficit, the Korean government has embraced multiculturalism in its policymaking, and encourages immigration and international marriage through various measures, such as education and assimilation programs. In this chapter I will first take a look at the recent history of intermarriage and multicultural families in Korea and the reasons behind their significant increase in the past few decades. After this, I will tackle the way multiculturalism is seen and practiced in Korea as primarily a state-led phenomenon, as it undoubtedly has a noteworthy influence on attitudes towards immigration and intermarriage in general.

2.1 Overview of international marriage in Korea

According to a report published by Statistics Korea (2019: 14), marriages between Koreans and foreign nationals represented 8.8 % of all marriages registered in 2018.

With 22,698 registered marriages, the year 2018 saw a sharp rise in the quantity of international marriages although the number had been in moderate decline since 2010, as shown in Figure 1. What makes the rise especially noteworthy, is that the total number of registered marriages in the country went down by 2.6 % during the same year (ibid. 4). The amount of international marriages eight years earlier in 2000 was roughly half of the recent number at 11,605, accounting for 3.5 % of all marriages that year, which demonstrates the staggering increase during the past couple of decades (Statistics Korea 2011: 10).

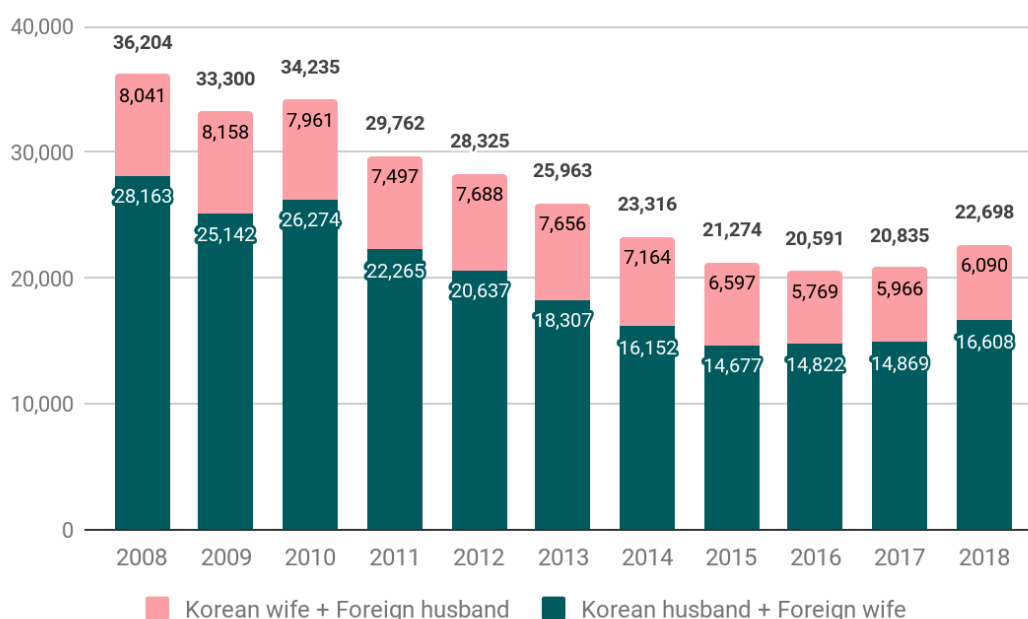


Figure 1. *International marriages in Korea from 2008 to 2018. Source: Statistics Korea (2019).*

As a consequence of the increased number of marriages between Koreans and foreign-born residents, the number of multicultural families is clearly on the rise as well. It has been estimated that the total amount of multicultural households in Korea in 2018 was 306,995, out of which 85.7 % were households consisting of Korean nationals and marriage migrants, and 14.3 % households consisting of Korean nationals and naturalized Koreans (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family 2019b). Multicultural families also have a significant effect on the total amount of births, as mentioned earlier in the introduction chapter of this thesis: in 2017 children born to international couples constituted 5.2 % of all births that year. Compared to 2008, when the

percentage was only at 2.9 %, the growth in the quantity of multicultural families, as well as the increase in the amount of mixed children in recent years are undoubtedly noteworthy. (Statistics Korea 2018a: 3.)

Despite the rising number of international marriages in the past two decades, marriages between Koreans and foreigners were fairly uncommon before the 1990s: if international marriages happened, they were usually unions between Korean women and Japanese men or American soldiers, who had stayed in the country after the Korean War in the 1950s. Korean women married to foreigners were often stigmatized and blamed for disgracing the pure Korean lineage, and thus at that time many internationally married women moved to the foreign husband's home country instead of staying in Korea. However, as international marriages began to become more prevalent, this tendency also started to change and more foreign husbands started residing with their Korean wives in Korea (Kim, M. 2018: 96–97.)

Although before the 1990s there were more internationally married women than men in Korea, looking at the statistics visible in Figure 1 it is clear that in the recent years marriages between Korean men and foreign-born women have been significantly more common than marriages between Korean women and foreign-born men. Out of all the mixed marriages registered in 2018, marriages in which the wife is a foreigner constitute 73.2 %, leaving marriages in which the husband is a foreigner at only 26.8 %. This trend seems to have remained constant over the past decade, as can be seen in the figure. (Statistics Korea 2019: 13).

In addition to the difference in how common intermarriage is, the most common home countries of the people Korean men and women marry differ to a notable degree. Among the foreign women married to Korean men, Vietnamese were the majority at 38.2 % while Chinese and Thai made up 22.1 % and 9.4 %, respectively, in 2018. During the same year, among the foreign men who married Korean women Chinese were the majority at 24.4 %, followed closely by Americans at 23.6% and then Vietnamese at 9.6%. (Statistics Korea 2019: 14.) Figures 2 and 3 show more detailed information on the nationality of the new foreign spouses in Korea in 2018.

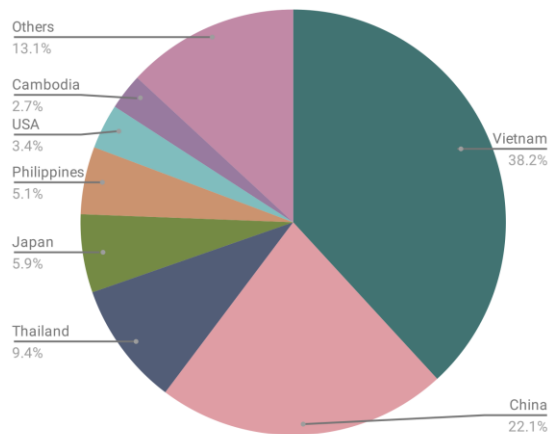


Figure 2. *Marriages between Korean men and foreign women by nationality in 2018. Data source: Statistics Korea (2019).*

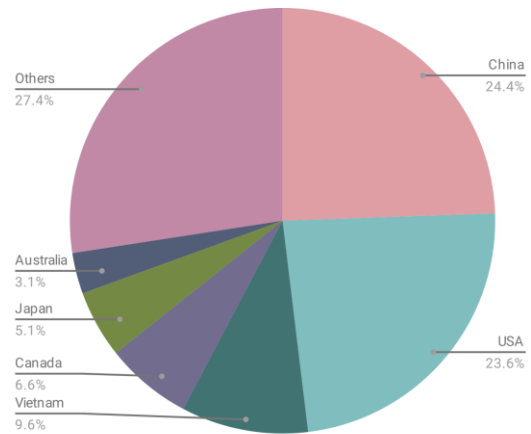


Figure 3. *Marriages between Korean women and foreign men by nationality in 2018. Data source: Statistics Korea (2019).*

While the growth in the number of mixed marriages and multicultural families in general can be explained by increased chances to encounter and communicate with foreigners, thanks to travel and more foreigners residing in Korea, it is also connected to various other domestic and global factors. Domestically the sudden increase in international marriage, as well as the difference in the amount of foreign wives and foreign husbands, is largely a result of the gaping imbalance between the number of marriageable men and women, especially in the countryside of Korea. The imbalanced sex ratio has resulted from such reasons as the traditional preference of male children over female children and selective abortion, as well as the increased participation of women in high education and the labor market. (Seol 2006: 36.) Rural areas have also been affected by the rapid industrialization that started in the 1960s, which made many women move to urban areas in order to do factory work, leaving the countryside with more marriageable men than women (Lee, Seol & Cho. 2006: 166). Because of the sex imbalance resulting from the aforementioned factors, many men in rural areas seek to marry women outside of Korea.

The global circumstances involved in the rise in the number of international marriages are often tied to economic differences. Korea's fast transformation from a poor country to a developed high-income one attracts marriage immigrants especially from developing countries: many women decide to migrate to more developed countries in hopes of raising their social and economic status, which then would help

them provide for their family members staying behind in their home country. (Seol 2006: 35.) Chung and Yoo (2013: 245) report that many foreign wives have come to Korea in search of a “Korean dream”, which to them before migration signified a happy family and a better life than they could ever achieve in their home country. Economic opportunities, along with the feeling of cultural closeness, also work as a motivation for ethnic Koreans living in China and Central Asia to migrate to Korea where their ethnic roots are (Lee et al. 2006: 170), which explains the high percentage of Chinese spouses for both men and women. These economic factors seem to be especially significant when it comes to explaining why Korean men are marrying foreign women, as it is more common for Korean women to marry foreign men of a higher economic status (Kim, M. 2018: 97). This might be the reason why there is a significantly higher percentage of Korean women married to American men, than of Korean men married to American women.

The demographic changes that caused an increased need of marriageable women in Korea, along with the availability of foreign women willing to marry internationally, have created a very active international marriage broker business, that concurrently heavily supports the trend of international marriage by making such marriage easier to pursue. Korean matchmaking agencies work in multiple Asian countries using a network of brokers to match local women with Korean men. The men, who pay hefty amounts of money for the service, choose their bride from several candidates and get married following a very speedy introduction process, after which they apply for a spouse visa for the new wife in Korea. (Lee et al. 2006: 166). It has been pointed out that on average it takes slightly less than four days from the couple’s first meeting to get officially married, which strongly reflects the urgency of the brokered marriage process. The average age difference of spouses in such marriages was found out to be 18.4 years, with the Korean husband usually being notably older than the foreign wife. (Kim, B. 2019).

Often, marriage migrants coming from developing countries through matchmaking agencies are seen as victims of human trafficking, who are taken to Korea on false pretenses and exploited by the Korean husbands as “domestic slaves”, although this statement has been criticized for ignoring the immigrant women’s own agency in the immigration process (Song, J. 2015: 11). However, the inequality of the brokered marriage process is anything but ambiguous, as only the Korean men looking

for foreign spouses have the freedom to choose their future partners, while the women might feel forced to participate in the matchmaking because of economic distress. Additionally, in many cases marriage brokers hide important information about their future husbands, such as excessive age differences, alcoholism or mental health problems, from the potential brides. These issues create a very unfair situation for the women involved, and thus the brokerage business has been criticized for violating the human rights of the female participants. (National Human Rights Commission of Korea 2017: 35.)

Furthermore, the intense commercialization of international marriage has led to multiple instances of also Korean people being taken advantage of by fraudulent matchmaking agencies. For example, brokers have given both parties of the deal false information about the future spouse leading to problems in their marriage, and facilitated scams resulting in financial losses for the parties in order to maximize profit (Lee, C. 2016). In addition to this, some agencies pose as marriage brokers and bring women illegally into the country through fake marriages, making them very vulnerable to crime and maltreatment, as the fear of being deported prevents women from reporting crimes committed against them (Jin 2012).

Therefore, although the business does its part in making international marriage more common, difficulties in regulating the business cause problems for the society as a whole, as well as the immigrant women involved. The government has, however, tightened the visa requirements for marriage migrants in 2014 in order to regulate such uncontrollable international marriage and prevent the occurrence of the issues described previously. If a Korean person is to sponsor a visa for their foreign spouse they cannot do so if they have sponsored another spouse visa in the past 5 years. Unless the couple has children, the foreign spouse is required to prove they have a basic command of the Korean language or that the couple can sufficiently communicate in another common language. The Korean sponsor is also required to meet certain income requirements to prove they are capable of taking care of a family financially. (Embassy of the Republic of Korea in Ukraine 2019.) As the new regulations were implemented in 2014, it is likely that they have contributed in the decrease in the number of intermarriage in the following few years, as could be seen in Figure 1 on page 7.

Another factor that is simultaneously a cause and a consequence of the rise in the amount of international marriages, is the governmental support given to international couples and families both centrally and locally. Some local governments directly sponsor international marriages through collaboration with matchmaking agencies. Direct governmental support for the occurrence of intermarriage seems to have started in the early 1990s, after diplomatic relations were established with China in 1992, and Korea started to bring Korean-Chinese women into the country to become wives to unmarried men in the rural areas (Lee, H. 2008: 110). Recently, it has been reported that over 35 municipal governments relying on agriculture, fishery and forestry industries are providing monetary assistance for local men struggling to find Korean wives to search for a spouse from outside the country, most usually from Southeast Asia. These funds are meant to cover a part of such expenses as brokerage fees, airfare needed to meet the wife candidates, and accommodation in the target country. Such assistance is provided to counter the decline in population resulting from urbanization, and to encourage men to stay and work in the rural areas (Kim, B. 2019).

Governmental support for international marriage and multicultural families is very visible in the multicultural policy itself: the assimilationist multicultural policy is mostly focused on female marriage migrants, which will be discussed more in detail in the next section of this chapter. The Korean government enacted the Multicultural Family Support Act in 2008, which was later revised in 2011, in order to contribute to the stability, quality of life, and social integration of multicultural families. The act mentions, for instance, the need for education to prevent discrimination and promote cultural diversity, as well as protection and support for victims of domestic violence in multicultural families. (Multicultural Family Support Act 2011.)

The Multicultural Family Support Act resulted in the establishment of Multicultural Family Support Centers that provide, among other things, language and cultural education, support groups, counseling and job training for members of multicultural families. As of July 2019, there are 218 centers operating all over the country. (Danuri n.d.) The support centers have proven to be useful especially in making foreign brides feel more self-competent and secure in their new country as they learn the local language, receive training, and are given support by other immigrants and families in the same situation (Chung & Yoo 2013: 251).

Multicultural families formed by Korean wives and foreign husbands, however, have felt excluded from the programs run by the support centers because governmental policies are more focused on female marriage migrants and their families. This has been argued to be a result of emphasized traditional gender roles according to which the father is the breadwinner of the family and the mother's role becomes more important when it comes to child-rearing (Kim, M. 2018: 98–99). Such exclusion from the supportive policies is thus closely related to the patriarchal family system (Ahn 2017: 52–53). Therefore, the exclusive policies may have an effect on why it is still significantly more common for Korean men to pursue intermarriage than it is for Korean women.

However, although marriages between Korean men and women foreign are more common, there is also a significant amount of couples consisting of a Korean wife and a foreign husband. For many women conscious seeking for a foreign husband seems to be about escaping the patriarchal and traditional gender roles: it is believed that compared to a Korean husband, a foreign one would be more respectful and open-minded when it comes to gender roles (Seo 2010). The same reason seems to affect women who decide to reject marriage altogether, as many of them feel burdened by the thought of having to bear the weight of domestic work and child-rearing alone. (Kim & Park 2017). That being the case, for women marriage with a foreigner provides a way to avoid the patriarchal culture of marriage that, to some extent, reduces women to homemakers. Therefore, for some people marriage to a non-Korean person might even serve as a kind of an alternative to remaining completely unmarried.

Despite the evident increase in the amount of foreign residents, international couples and multicultural families face various difficulties in Korea. According to the National Survey of Multicultural Families conducted by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family in 2018, 30.9 % of marriage migrants reported experiencing discrimination on the basis of their foreign background during the past year. By nationality, most discrimination was reported by respondents originating from Southeast Asian and South Asian countries. The experience of discrimination was less common in those who had stayed in the country for a longer period of time. According to the experience of the respondents, most of the discrimination happens in the workplace, public spaces such as stores, restaurants and banks, and in the streets and the neighborhood, respectively. (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family 2019c: 210–

212.) Discrimination in the past year was also experienced by 9.2 % of children of multicultural families, and the experience of discrimination was stronger the older the respondents were. Children of multicultural families felt most discriminated by their friends, employers and colleagues, and neighbors, respectively. (Ibid. 581–583.)

Comparing multicultural families in Korea with ethnic Korean families from the standpoint of social exclusion, it has been found out that multicultural families experience approximately two times more exclusion than ethnic Korean families, when it comes to income, employment, housing, education, health and social networks. The levels of experienced exclusion are higher in those belonging to lower income classes, as opposed to those who belong to higher social classes. Additionally, stronger exclusion is experienced by immigrants who lack fluency in the Korean language and do not have proper social networks in the society. (Kim A. 2018: 9–10.) Therefore it is clear that even though Korea has taken a turn into a more ethnically diverse nation, there are still hurdles to overcome in order to make the society more inclusive when it comes to international couples and multicultural families, as well as other immigrants.

2.2 Korean views on multiculturalism

Multiculturalism in the West is usually understood as a set of policies designed to maintain cultural diversity and distinctive ethnic identities while unifying different groups in society under a shared culture. Such policies are made for people from different ethnic groups to be recognized and properly included in public life. (Kivisto 2007: 36–37.) In South Korea the discourse of multiculturalism began in the early 2000s as a response to the rapidly increasing amount of immigration starting in the previous decade. Multiculturalism (*damunhwajueui* 다문화주의) as a term seems to have various meanings that differ from the Western ideas, which will be explained further later in this chapter.

According to Ahn (2012: 103), even though multiculturalism as a term had been appearing in newspaper articles since the 1990s, the amount of articles mentioning multiculturalism significantly increased only starting from the year 2006. At the same time articles changed their direction to discuss multiculturalism more as a part of the Korean society, instead of seeing it as an exclusively foreign concept. Ahn

(ibid. 104) suggests that the trend of multiculturalism was affected greatly by the highly publicized visit of Hines Ward, an American football player born to a Korean mother and an African-American father, which made people recognize the matter of bi-racial children, as well as multiculturalism in general as something that should be addressed policy wise.

Park Chunung (2012: 15) also dates the start of the trend in 2006, and states the government of South Korea has been actively trying to establish a multicultural policy since then. The official pursuit for a comprehensive policy started with the release of a report focused on the direction of the policy and plans of cultural support concentrated mainly on marriage migrants. The emergence of the trend of multiculturalism thus resulted in the establishment of various acts and plans focusing on immigration, international marriage and families, as well as multicultural education for the general Korean population. These plans include, among others, the First Basic Plan for Immigration Policy established in 2009, the revised Second Basic Plan for Immigration Policy in 2012, Multicultural Family Support Act in 2008, and Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea established originally in 2008 (Ibid. 38).

As mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, multiculturalism as a term has many different connotations in Korea. Firstly, multiculturalism is often integrated with the concept of race or ethnicity, and as claimed by Kim Nora (2014: 62) the terms ‘multicultural’ (*damunhwa* 다문화) and ‘multiethnic’ (*dainjong* 다인종) are actually often used together and without much distinction between them. With the increase of foreign workers and international marriage, multiculturalism contains the idea of integrating other racial and ethnic groups effectively into the South Korean society (Ahn 2012: 103.) Indeed, many academics consider assimilation as one of the main priorities of the Korean multiculturalism discourse (e.g. Lee, B. 2010; Lim 2014).

This idea of assimilation, however, has mostly centered on immigrant women who marry Korean men. It has been argued that the responsibility of their failure to integrate to the society has been pushed on the immigrant women themselves: discrimination and isolation that lead to problems in family and social relationships, as well as hardships in raising children, are all seen to be direct consequences of immigrant women’s lacking understanding of Korean society. Thus, the First Basic Plan for Immigration Policy established by the state in 2009 suggested a social

integration program consisting of education, counselling, and improved social services. (Lim 2014: 47.) The Multicultural Family Support Centers providing such services are an important factor when it comes to the assimilation process of female marriage migrants, as discussed in the previous section.

Considering the policy of assimilation focuses and favors female marriage migrants and their families, the Korean discourse of multiculturalism has been said to contain very patriarchal elements, as briefly mentioned in the previous section. The patriarchal family system that has long prevailed in Korea causes marriage for women to signify leaving their own families behind to join that of the husband (Kim & Cheung 2015: 1075). The tradition was supported by law all the way until 1998 when the Nationality Law was revised: according to the old law, children of Korean mothers and foreign fathers could not automatically receive the Korean nationality, and male marriage migrants had to wait longer before being able to apply for citizenship (Lee, H. 2008: 112). Despite this change, it has been argued that multicultural families formed between Korean men and women of a foreign origin are still more included in the discourse because they do not challenge the patrilineal family concept, and thus, reinforce the patriarchal system (Ahn 2017: 52–53). Children of such families are more included in the policies of multiculturalism, because they are considered to be part of the Korean father's bloodline, and consequently, they are seen to be more Korean (Lee, B. 2010: 62).

In addition, the multiculturalism discourse is very connected to minority cultures and movements: through the application of the multiculturalism policy many minority groups strive for public rights and recognition (Ahn 2012: 105). Lim (2014: 44–45) stresses that this development has been heavily affected by international norms on human rights, which has been demonstrated by foreign workers who skillfully linked human rights with their plight for improved working conditions and labor rights. Korean government has seemingly wanted to follow international norms, and was thus driven to grant foreign workers protection according to the Korean labor laws in quite a short time frame stretching from the early 1990s to the 2010s. On top of this, Lim adds that human rights and multiculturalism were also linked to each other in the state's aforementioned Basic Plan from 2009, in which one of the main objectives of the immigration policy was stated to be the protection of human rights.

Furthermore, the discourse of multiculturalism is, at least in theory, about protecting and valuing cultural diversity, which to some degree contrasts with the goal of assimilation. This idea in the context of Korea seems to be heavily associated with neoliberalism: creating a positive idea of diversity would lead to a more effective circulation of capital as well as increase competitive advantage in the global economy. Such thoughts have been especially prominent in the management sector, and the competitive edge provided by diversity that stems from multiculturalism has become an essentiality in multinational corporations. (Ahn 2012: 106–108). Thus, it is implied that diversity in the multiculturalism discourse is more of a means to achieve economic success instead of being a value in its own right.

Thoughts that link diversity and multiculturalism to the global economy are shared in other studies. According to Park Chunung (2012: 15–16), the reason the government started pushing for such a multicultural policy seems to lay in the need of increased competitive edge in the international stage. Park emphasizes that multiculturalism was from the beginning seen as the base for proper globalization, and in order to survive in the globalizing world it was thought that the Korean society needed a thorough societal change towards a multicultural society. Lee Byoungha (2010: 36) also contends that in reality through valuing multiculturalism the Korean government does not strive to value diversity or establish equal rights for all immigrants, but to realize national interests and competitiveness. This leads to unequal treatment of different types of immigrants: foreign workers are exploited as cheap and temporary labor force, which beneficiates the economy, while marriage migrants, who are needed to solve the problems of the aging population and low birth rate, are pushed to assimilate into the Korean society through various policies (ibid. 37).

Therefore, multiculturalism and globalization are often seen as means for strengthening Korean ethnic nationalism. Shin (2006: 207–208) argues that the way Korea has responded to globalization has been shaped by ethnic nationalism and as a consequence, globalization has been adapted to work in favor of reaching national goals, especially on the governmental level. Such instrumentalist thinking of globalization has been strongly tied to global competitiveness, and its connection to ethnicity was demonstrated, for instance, when a law giving preferential treatment to Korean Americans, who were seen to be more useful for the globalizing economy, was promulgated. However the same law, which was later ruled unconstitutional, excluded

ethnic Koreans from China and Russia because as a whole they were not seen to be as beneficial to the economy as Korean Americans who knew fluent English. (Ibid. 213–214.) These ideas reflect the thoughts Park Chunung (2012) and Lee Byoungha (2010) present about multiculturalism that were introduced in the previous paragraph, and thus, it may be observed that because multiculturalism is seen as a part of globalization, as a policy it has also received a similar kind of instrumentalist treatment.

Another scholar who ties multiculturalism to nationalism is Han Gil-soo (2016: 21), who calls the Korean type of nationalism *nouveau-riche nationalism*. What this means in the context of Korea is that because of the country's colonial past Koreans feel like they have the right to exploit foreign workers to gain profit in the capitalist system, as well as discriminate against ethnically non-Korean people residing in Korea. *Nouveau-riche nationalism* is especially common in countries that went through a period of rapid industrialization and development, like South Korea did in the latter part of the 20th century. While the nationalist tendencies worked as a sort of a coping mechanism during times of Japanese colonialism and Western imperialism, the influx of foreign workers and marriage immigrants since the 1990s and economic success transformed the Korean nationalism into a more discriminatory phenomenon. Typically the people most affected by discriminatory behaviors are from poorer countries, while people with origins in well-off countries are more respected and admired. (ibid. 22–23.) Therefore, it is evident that economic development and success are deeply connected with how immigrants and multiculturalism are perceived in Korea, but also that the official pursuance of multiculturalism is deeply connected to nationalist tendencies in different ways.

Watson (2012: 99) argues that such pursuit of multiculturalism has created various tensions in the society: policymakers have the tendency to use multiculturalism as a veil to hide societal issues, which in turn makes people blame foreigner influence for such problems. For instance in 2008, as a way to combat the global financial crisis, the Korean government established policies in order to make employing foreign workers easier for small and medium-sized companies. While these policies might not have been the most beneficial for the foreign workers themselves, as they were designed for the advantage of the national economy, many Koreans understood that the policies favored foreign workers at the expense of native Korean people. (Han, G. 2016: 55–57.) As a result, foreigners are often blamed for “stealing” jobs from native

Koreans, although in reality the secondary industry needs immigrants to fill the worker shortage because most Koreans are unwilling to work such low-income or hard labor jobs. In addition to this, many think immigrants are residing in Korea illegally, while only a small minority of immigrants in the country are in fact illegal residents. (Park, C. 2012: 21.)

However, in general Korean attitudes towards multiculturalism seem to be constantly evolving. According to a 2018 survey conducted among 4,000 Korean adults from ages 19 to 74 and 4,225 middle and high schoolers nationwide, out of a total of 100 points, the acceptance of multiculturalism among adults has decreased from 53.95 to 52.81 points since the last time the survey was conducted in 2015. Yet, in 2012 the acceptance rate was lower than in 2018 by 1.64 points, which demonstrates the slight fluctuation in attitudes amongst adults. On the other hand, students in middle and high school showed significantly more positive attitudes by scoring 71.22 out of 100 points in the same survey. While the acceptance of multiculturalism has slightly declined among adults, the average score of students has risen by 3.59 points since 2015. Among the respondents, 67.5 % of adults reported not having people from a migrant background in their everyday surroundings, while for students the percentage was 58.9 %. In addition to this result, students were found to be more open than adults towards interacting with immigrants. (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family 2019a: 214.)

The difference in the acceptance of multiculturalism between adults and younger students may be explained by various reasons. First of all, the surveyed adolescents have grown up in the 2000s, which means they have lived their whole life in an environment where migrant workers, marriage migrants and other immigrants have already become more present in the Korean society, which might make them more open to multiculturalism than adults. Secondly, thanks to revisions made on school curriculum towards a more multicultural approach in recent years, adolescents have received more education about multiculturalism in schools, and therefore are more knowledgeable about immigration and diversity. (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family 2019a: 214.)

On the other hand, the slight negative turn in the attitudes of adults might be a result of more concrete experiences regarding multiculturalism making it so that the

respondents were now less superficial about their attitudes when responding to this survey. At the same time it is possible that the acceptance has lessened because of the recent economic downturn and lack of available jobs: especially those of a lower economic status tend to view immigrants in a more negative light because of increased competition in the labor market. Accordingly, this survey showed similar results in the responses of those in low-income jobs. Acceptance of multiculturalism was lower for respondents who reported less interaction with people from migrant backgrounds. (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family 2019a: 214–216.)

However on the question of homogeneity, the survey showed results that indicate people are not as inclined to prefer that Korea should remain an ethnically homogeneous society. The percentage of adult respondents that agreed that accepting people of various ethnicities would lower the cohesion of the nation lowered from 37.7 % in 2015 to 34.9 % in 2018. At the same time the percentage of people who think Korea's homogeneity is something to be proud of has decreased significantly from 53.5 % to 46.5 %. The belief that homogeneity brings a competitive edge is also less prominent than in 2015, as the percentage of people thinking that way has gone down from 40 % to 34.3 %. (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family 2019a: 90.) The results of this survey will be compared to the results of my study in the discussion chapter later.

It is apparent that in spite of the survey showing that acceptance towards multiculturalism has lowered during the past few years, the strong tendency to prefer a homogeneous society seems to have become less common. This most likely results not only from the policy of multiculturalism, and the changes it has brought to the way marriage migrants and multicultural families especially are integrated into society, but also simply from the increased opportunities to encounter people from other cultures inside Korea and while travelling overseas. Such changes in society might make a difference in attitudes and prejudice, which will be discussed more in the following chapter, and accordingly make people more open to the possibility of marrying a non-Korean person.

3 Theoretical framework

As mentioned in the introduction chapter of this thesis, intermarriage is often seen as a sign of social inclusion that implies two people are perceived to be of equal social status despite belonging to different ethnic or racial groups. Despite this, many studies show that the occurrence of intermarriage is not necessarily evidence of weak social boundaries, effective integration, or lack of prejudice and discrimination (e.g. Rodríguez-García, Solana-Solana & Lubbers 2016; Song, M. 2009). In the case of Korea, this idea is supported by the fact that in spite of the significant rise in the amount of international marriages in Korea in the past years, a notable number of marriage migrants and their children feel discriminated based on their foreign background, as specified in the previous chapter.

However, the occurrence of intermarriage in a society signifies people have at least some kind of opportunities, as well as openness to interact with people who belong to other ethnic and racial groups. The openness towards interaction with people belonging to other groups is in part managed by intergroup attitudes. Attitudes in this case represent positive or negative evaluations people make about other people or groups, and affect the way people behave towards each other (Haddock & Maio 2007: 67). Because the focus of this thesis is on intergroup attitudes and contact, emphasis is put on prejudice, which is a major element of intergroup contact theory that suggests prejudice is weakened notably through contact and interaction between two groups.

This chapter will introduce the theoretical framework of the thesis, starting from prejudice, as well as the process of categorization and intergroup relationships that create and control it. After this, the next two sections will move on to defining and discussing the intergroup contact hypothesis and extended intergroup contact hypothesis, respectively. These theories were tested in relation to the attitudes towards intermarriage and multicultural families in the first questionnaire conducted for this thesis.

3.1 Prejudice

Allport (1979: 6–13), whose theoretical framework will be discussed more in the following section, concludes prejudice to consist of two aspects. Firstly, prejudice contains either a positive or a negative attitude towards something, and secondly, it requires an overgeneralized belief that reinforces such attitudes. To make a generalization that builds up into prejudice does not require facts or even personal experience. Thus, prejudice against another ethnic group, according to Allport, is a result of faulty and inflexible generalization.

The idea that prejudice stems from inaccurate assumptions has however been criticized since Allport's definition. Brown (2010: 5) finds an issue with the idea that one could accurately confirm an assumption or generalization to be true or false: even if there was a reliable way to do this, it is questionable if it could be used to justify prejudice in any way. At the same time it is emphasized that one group might view certain traits or actions in a very different way than another group, which, yet again, complicates the usage of definitions that inherently consider prejudice to have its roots in erroneous beliefs.

This criticism brings us to the definition of prejudice to which I will be referring in this thesis. Brown defines prejudice as “any attitude, emotion, or behavior towards members of a group, which directly or indirectly implies some negativity or antipathy towards that group” (2010: 7). In the context of defining the term, Brown gives prominence to not only direct demonstrations of negative attitudes but also to indirect ones. This is because indirect displays are harder to recognize, and thus more difficult to prevent. Such indirect demonstrations of negative attitudes can pose themselves as positive attitudes or stereotypes, and they tend to make the value given to an outgroup very one-sided and simplified (ibid. 6). It has also been proven that being described by positive stereotypes often makes people feel like they are being depersonalized in a negative way and believe that the perpetrator of such positive stereotypes must hold negative stereotypes of the person as well (Siy & Cheryan 2016: 952). Therefore, even though most attention in the study of prejudice but also in everyday life is usually given to negative attitudes, it is important to note that any type of an attitude might be considered a prejudiced one, and even seemingly positive attitudes might have negative outcomes and implications in intergroup relations.

Another important aspect of prejudice that Brown emphasizes is its origin in group processes. He fleshes out the definition of the term by stating that prejudice is “an orientation towards whole categories of people rather than towards isolated individuals”. What this means in practice, is that even though the target of prejudice at a glance might seem to be an individual, what often is more prominent in the situation is what defines them as a member of an outgroup, such as their accent or skin color, rather than the traits they possess as an individual. While prejudice is usually oriented towards a group, in most cases it is also a socially shared orientation: instead of being a perception belonging to and acted on by an individual, prejudice is most often shared by a group of people and thus, it steers the behavior of a whole group towards another. (Brown 2010: 8.)

The previously mentioned nature of prejudice makes it a phenomenon that has a deeply categorical basis. It has been suggested that the process of categorization is an innate primitive ability that does not have to be learned (Bruner 1957). A similar idea was also adopted by Allport (1979: 20–25) who discusses categorization as a prerequisite for prejudice. The human mind is said to require categorization or generalization in order to be able to deal with new experiences, which are usually processed in relation to the already existing categories. Categories and concepts help us identify not only situations and objects but also people, and they often go hand in hand with different feelings and tones. This makes the categorization process somewhat unreliable, as intense emotions might strengthen categories and concepts in such a way that makes even irrational generalizations, that have no significant basis on real life experiences, seem worth holding on to. Allport argues that our personal values are one of the major categories that participate in the formation of prejudice: people have a tendency to overgeneralize and assign people into set categories in order to preserve and protect their own values.

When introduced into discussion about intergroup contact and relations, this natural process of categorization can be seen as a kind of a tool to differentiate between the concepts of us and them. It often has the effect of intensifying the differences and contrasts between two groups. Tajfel (1959) found in an experiment that associating two stimuli in different categories lead to the differences of the two being more accentuated. Similarly, differences within the categories were perceived to be smaller. This finding has been supported by several other studies which also prove that the

element of categorization has a similar effect in many different situations (e.g. Doise Dechamps & Meyer 1978; McGarty & Penny 1988). When translated into the setting of this thesis, it can be said that the differences between two people will seem more prominent if they are known to belong to different groups, while members of the same group will be perceived to be more similar to each other than they are in reality. Thus, through the categorization process, people belonging to the concept of us are seen as people with whom one shares the most similarities and differences to them, another group, become more exaggerated, which strengthens the separation of the two groups.

To expand on this, Brown (2010: 38–40) argues that categorization seems to work as a sufficient condition for people to see their own group in a more positive light than others, and therefore it is also a significant factor in why intergroup discrimination is formed and acted upon. He introduces multiple studies that work on the basis of minimal group paradigm in which artificial groups with no intergroup contact are created and participants are asked to distribute resources between the members of the groups. Such experiments usually find that in similar situations people are more likely to favor their own group members over others. Ingroup bias was also strongly present in experiments dealing with less conscious and more spontaneous decision making. (Ibid. 42–44.) Thus, even the most insignificant and arbitrary categorization can lead to prejudice, which in turn signifies that when someone is very clearly placed in the outgroup, the preference of ingroup members over that said outgroup member is a very natural and common phenomenon.

This process of categorization is important in the case of South Korean because of the relative homogeneity of the society. Although the amount of immigrants in the country has increased significantly in recent decades, as of late 2017 people of Korean nationality still accounted for 97.1 % of the population, which makes them a very strong majority. Additionally, most of the foreign nationals in the country are in fact ethnically Korean. (Statistics Korea 2018b.) Brown (2010: 57–58) brings up belonging to a minority as a potential, although not a very reliable source of distinctiveness that provokes categorization. Even so, when categorization becomes a device of separating us from them, as mentioned previously, a person who visibly differs from others becomes stigmatized because of one undesirable trait that overthrows their other attributes. Such stigmatization can be attributed to a whole ethnic or racial group. (Goffman 1986: 3–5.) On that account, being visibly part of a minority might be

enough to generate prejudiced attitudes and behavior against immigrants. I believe this aspect of social categorization might be strengthened by the homogeneity of the Korean society.

At the same time social categorization plays a significant role when it comes to mixed children of multicultural families. With one parent being Korean and the other being of another ethnicity, the categorization of mixed children becomes more ambiguous. In the case of the United States, often called a “melting pot of cultures”, it has been found that mixed-race individuals are more likely to be categorized as members of the minority group. The categorization depends on the racial hierarchy in such a way that the race perceived lower in the hierarchy becomes the main determinant of a mixed individual’s race, as per the hypodescent theory. (Ho, Sidanius, Levin & Banaji 2011: 503). The Korean version of hypodescent makes it so that anyone who is not fully Korean by blood is essentially considered a foreigner (Lee, C. S. 2017: 536). The racial hierarchy is based on national origin as well as skin color: the development level of the foreign parent’s country and the lightness of one’s skin makes a difference in the way mixed children are perceived (ibid. 531; 533). Therefore, the automatic method of categorizing people as foreign despite their Korean roots, or the fact that they have always lived in the country, is likely to have a significant effect on the prejudice and discrimination felt by people of foreign origin, as well as their children in Korea.

In relation to this, intergroup relations are affected by the strength of group identification. Firstly, studies indicate that people to whom group membership is more salient are more likely to react more strongly to other factors that might cause prejudice (Brown 2010: 165). This might be significant in the case of Korea, considering their common emphasis on shared bloodline and ancestry and thus, belonging to the same, very exclusive group. The exclusiveness of the group is also very visible in the way mixed people are mostly considered foreigners, while their cultural and genetic Koreanness is ignored, as discussed in the previous paragraph.

In my thesis I will consider prejudice through the descriptions and aspects introduced in this section. Be that as it may, my thesis as a whole is more concerned with how prejudice is weakened, and how that in turn affects how Korean people feel about people of other ethnicities in the frame of romantic relationships. As explained

in the introduction I have chosen to approach this through the study of interaction and contact between groups. Therefore, the theory of prejudice is tied to the intergroup contact hypothesis and the extended intergroup contact hypothesis, both of which are discussed in the following sections.

3.2 Intergroup contact hypothesis

The theory that sets the background of this thesis is the intergroup contact hypothesis, originally introduced already in 1950s. The original creator of the theory, Allport (1979: 281), argues that contact between different ethnic groups can reduce existing prejudice and negative intergroup attitudes. Such contact, in Allport's initial theory, requires certain conditions to be met in order to be effective.

The first of Allport's conditions for prejudice to be lessened is perceived equality: it is important that two members of different groups are of equal occupational status, or that the member of the outgroup is of a higher status than the prejudiced individual (Allport 1979: 276). He also puts emphasis on the type of contact that leads two individuals or groups to work together to achieve a common goal, for example in a work setting, or when two people belonging to different groups are part of the same athletic team. He also argues that institutional support, such as laws or even overall atmosphere of the society, enhances the positive effects of such contact. (Ibid. 281.) The aspect of institutional support has been very visibly used by the South Korean government in order to make the country more multicultural through various policies, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Research has shown that direct contact between two people belonging to different groups is indeed effective in reducing prejudice. In studies in which the participants do not have an option to avoid contact the positive effect is slightly more pronounced than in those that allow participants to choose. It has also been proven that the effects of direct contact tend to generalize: a person who is in close contact with an individual belonging to an outgroup is likely to have less prejudice towards the outgroup as a whole. As far as Allport's conditions for lowered levels of prejudice are concerned, they are not indispensable but work as "facilitating conditions" that strengthen the positive effect intergroup contact has towards prejudice. Out of all the

optimal conditions, institutional support has been found to have the most profound effect on attitudes. (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006: 766.)

However, one of the biggest criticisms of Allport's theory originates from his insistence on direct contact between the members of an ingroup and an outgroup. According to Allport, in order to reduce prejudice through intergroup contact, the contact needs to consist of true acquaintance instead of casual encounters. In fact, he emphasizes that casual contact that consists of insufficient communication might even have an opposite effect and increase negative attitudes. As claimed by him, this happens because of the very inclination of people to categorize: in a casual contact situation the lack of communication often results in automatic categorization based on pre-existing ideas of the outgroup. This simplifies the perception towards said person, who might not be at all alike to the ideas with which they are associated. (Allport 1979: 264.)

Thus, this concept of required direct contact has been proven slightly inadequate by more recent research on extended intergroup contact, some of which will be looked into in the next section. While Allport's hypothesis is widely accepted as the basis of study on ethnic prejudice, it needs to be expanded in order to study and describe the connection between intergroup contact and attitudes more effectively.

3.3 Extended intergroup contact hypothesis

Despite the fact that cross-group acquaintance and friendship have a significant positive effect for reducing intergroup prejudice, it has been established that extended contact is similarly an important factor when it comes to improving attitudes between two ethnic groups. The extended contact hypothesis suggests that intergroup attitudes may ameliorate already if an individual knows that another member of their group has a good relationship with an outgroup member. This proposes that cross-group prejudice can be reduced without the necessity of everyone having close intergroup relationships. (Wright, McLaughlin-Volpe & Ropp 1997: 74.) Therefore, the extended contact hypothesis provides a means to generalize the effects of intergroup contact more effectively than Allport's theory discussed in the previous section, as it suggests

that the positive experiences of an individual could affect the general attitude an ingroup has towards an outgroup, and vice versa.

The effects of extended contact are supported by the following three mechanisms. First, intergroup relations may improve through positive ingroup exemplars, through whom observers would be exposed to a more tolerant attitude towards an outgroup. Seeing a relatable ingroup member in favorable interaction with an outgroup member may reduce anxiety as well as ignorance in cross-group relations, through more accurate information on the culture of the outgroup. The effect of positive ingroup exemplars is possibly stronger in cases in which the ingroup norms that determine how to interact with the outgroup are not too firmly established. Even so, in cases in which the norms of interaction are already strongly set, an ingroup exemplar can work as a sort of pioneer in intergroup communication and therefore make it easier for others to break the norms as well. (Wright et al. 1997: 75.)

Secondly, through a similar effect as ingroup exemplars, positive outgroup exemplars that are in close contact with an ingroup member may reflect that the whole outgroup in general has favorable attitudes and norms towards the said ingroup. Thus, expectations of good and harmonious interaction make the observer more open to intergroup encounters. However, this mechanism seems to be more effective when the outgroup is perceived homogeneous. (Wright et al. 1997: 75.) The last point might not apply to South Korea, where the outgroup is definitely more heterogeneous than the ingroup, since immigrants have migrated to Korea from various backgrounds, while the Korean population is still very homogeneous.

Lastly, the third mechanism has to do with the concept of self. In a close relationship with someone, an individual tends to include the other in their self. Usually, if group membership is seen as an important factor in one's life, the whole ingroup is included in the self of an individual. By observing an ingroup member have a positive relationship with an outgroup member the observer might start considering the outgroup member as a part of the self that usually includes only the closer ingroup members. Consequently, the line between the ingroup and the outgroup becomes more blurred, and possible negative attitudes towards the outgroup are diminished. (Wright, McLaughlin-Volpe & Ropp 1997: 75–76.)

All of these three mechanisms are highly related to the salience of group memberships. The more important group membership is to an individual, the more likely it is that indirect contact will effectively reduce or prevent negative attitudes and prejudice towards outgroups. (Wright et al. 1997: 75–76.) This could be significant in the case of South Korea, as Korean culture has traditionally been perceived as a very collectivist one, with ethnic nationalism strengthening the sense of unity (Shin 2006: 13). Therefore, with the emphasis on group membership, positive exemplars of members engaging in friendly relationships with outgroup members might provide stronger positive feelings for other group members, as well as successfully reduce intergroup anxiety.

The extended contact theory has been proven noteworthy in reducing prejudice by various studies. In their study carried out among Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns and Voci (2004: 782) found that not only direct but also indirect friendships are helpful in reducing intergroup anxiety. A field experiment conducted in upper-stage comprehensive schools in Finland by Liebkind and McAlister (1999: 776) concluded that even reading stories of intergroup friendships can provide children with a positive exemplar that successfully changes stances towards outgroups for the better. Similarly, a study by Wojcieszak and Azrout (2016: 1051) suggests that mere exposure to positively presented coverage about outgroup members in the media can improve intergroup attitudes. In a closer relation to cross-group couples, Lienemann and Stopp (2013: 411) found a correlational association with media exposure of interracial relationships and attitudes in regard to Black-White relationships in the US.

An extensive test of the extended contact theory was conducted by Turner, Hewstone, Voci and Vonofakou (2008) through two studies based on the mechanisms discussed earlier. In the first study, White British undergraduate students filled a questionnaire made to determine the mediators through which extended contact was positively associated with more positive attitudes towards Asian people (ibid. 846). It was found that extended contact, to some extent of significance, correlated to lower levels of intergroup anxiety, more positive perceptions of ingroup norms and outgroup norms, as well as greater inclusion of the outgroup in the self (ibid. 848–849). The second study was also conducted in the form of a questionnaire but amongst British high school students (idib. 851), and similarly concluded that extended contact has a

positive correlation with perceived ingroup and outgroup norms, and inclusion of the outgroup in the self (ibid. 854).

Overall the study carried out by Turner et al. (2008: 855) provided evidence that all of the mechanisms strengthening the effects of extended contact introduced by Wright et al. (1997) work as independent factors and each of them has their own effect on intergroup attitudes. The effect of cross-group friendship, which was emphasized by Allport, is also acknowledged, but extended contact is raised to its level as a factor of equal importance in the study of intergroup attitudes. Additionally, Turner et. al emphasize the difference in the opportunity of contact: cross-group friendship with the outgroup requires opportunities of direct contact while extended contact does not. This is significant especially for homogeneous societies where being close friends with a member of an outgroup is not a realistic opportunity for every member of the ingroup. Extended contact thus provides such communities with a means for reduced prejudice and negative attitudes without the need for personal intergroup friendships.

4 Survey and results

The data for this thesis was collected through two separate surveys. A longer questionnaire, consisting mostly of multiple choice questions, was carried out first to test the effect of direct contact, indirect contact, ingroup norms and outgroup norms on the attitudes South Koreans have towards intercultural relationships. Because the first questionnaire was of a quantitative nature, another shorter survey was conducted in order to gain some more qualitative data on the topic. In this chapter I will first introduce the structure of the surveys and then move on to discuss the results and limitations of my research.

The questionnaire that provided the quantitative data for the thesis was composed of five different sections, three of which I will refer to as major sections, as they provided the most important data of the questionnaire. The other two sections of the questionnaire were added to gain more particulars on how familiar the respondents were with intercultural couples, as well as to gather demographic information about the respondents for the purpose of easing the analyzing process. This questionnaire, consisting of 37 questions, a demographic section and comment section, was distributed amongst Koreans online on social media and a total of 38 responses were recorded. Out of all the respondents of the questionnaire, 20 were women and 18 were men, and thus the sex ratio of the total respondents was quite balanced.

The first major section was modelled, with minor adjustments, after the test of the extended intergroup contact by Turner, Hewstone, Voci and Vonofakou (2008) that was discussed more extensively in the previous chapter. The purpose of this section was to canvass what kind of contact the respondents have with non-Korean people, and therefore the section was divided into four smaller parts that would serve as the independent variables: first of them covering the amount of direct contact such as friendship, second the amount of indirect contact Koreans have with foreigners through friends and family, third the perceived ingroup norms Koreans have towards interaction with foreigners, and last the perceived outgroup norms foreigners have towards Koreans. Each variable was measured by three items and each choice was scored with a value from one to five.

Dependent variables were measured in the second major section of the questionnaire which was constructed of 18 Likert-type items that measured whether

the Korean respondents have positive or negative attitudes towards intercultural relationships. In this section, the respondents were presented with statements to determine if they accepted other Koreans having romantic relationships with people of another origin, but also if they would consider them themselves. In addition to their own opinions, the respondents were asked about the perceived opinions of their parents, as well as the Korean population in general, in regard to the same statements. Each statement was followed by five choices ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree, with the middle choice being a neutral one respondents could choose to state that they neither agree or disagree.

The third major section of the questionnaire was designed to gather more detailed information on whether the background of the non-Korean person would affect the willingness of the respondents to have a relationship with them. This was tested with two different checkbox grid type questions in which the respondents were asked to check the people with whom they would consider dating, marrying or having children. The first question presented the options based on race and the second based on the region of origin. This distinction was made in order to determine whether possible differences in responses were affected by the race or the regional background of the people of foreign origin presented as answer choices. Respondents were asked to think of each option as a person coming from a similar educational and economic background as the other options.

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, a second survey was carried out in order to expand on the topic and gather more qualitative data to analyze alongside the quantitative data accumulated in the first questionnaire. The questions of this survey were formed based on the results of the first questionnaire and official statistics on international marriage and multicultural families. The purpose of this was to map out what kind of thoughts and views people have on the increase of intermarriage and multicultural families, and thus, gain insight on the attitudes Koreans hold towards the topic. The respondents of the second survey were made aware of the existence of the other questionnaire, and the response form was distributed through friends and acquaintances online. The survey consisted of five open questions designed to collect free answers from the respondents, and gathered a total of eight full responses. Out of the eight respondents four were male, three were female and one decided to keep their sex undisclosed.

The written language of both of the surveys was Korean. The survey questions were initially written in English, then translated into Korean, and later reviewed by a native speaker of the language. One of the major changes made to the questions was changing the expression *a person who is not Korean* or *non-Korean*, which I personally saw as the more neutral option, to *foreigner* (*oegukin* 외국인) in the Korean version. This change was made because it was agreed that the latter word would seem more natural in the eyes of the Korean respondents.

After the reviewing process, both surveys were tested by a couple of Korean students in order to ensure the form was functional, and that the language used in the questions and answer choices were easily understandable. In addition to this, testing was conducted to make sure the surveys could be completed in a reasonable time frame. This was considered important so that the risk of participants not completing the survey in full could be avoided. At the same time a reasonable time frame of completion could ensure that the respondents stay focused until the end of the questionnaire and thus, provide responses that more accurately portray their thoughts and feelings in regard to the topic throughout the whole survey.

In the following sections I shall take a closer look at the results of the two surveys. To start with, I will discuss the results of the quantitative questionnaire in relation to the conducted correlation test: the analysis will start with a small explanation of why this method of statistical analysis was chosen, after which the results of the correlation test will be discussed in detail. After this, I will discuss the results in a more general sense through examining percentages. In most part, the discussion will follow the general structure of the quantitative survey, starting with the first major part and then moving on to the second and third major parts of the questionnaire. The qualitative data from the second survey will be discussed along with the results of the quantitative questionnaire in order to keep the themes of the analysis consistent. The responses to the second survey have been translated from Korean to English for the purpose of including them in this analysis section.

4.1 Spearman's correlation coefficient

The correlation of the independent variables and dependent variables related to my main hypothesis was first statistically studied through Spearman's rank correlation test. Spearman's correlation, or Spearman's rho, was chosen as an appropriate test because of the non-parametric nature of the quantitative data acquired through Likert-type statement questions from the first survey. As touched upon previously, the second major section of the questionnaire consisted of statements measuring the dependent variables with Likert-type answer choices. Although the answer choices were represented by numbers, the exact difference between "strongly disagree" and "disagree", for example, cannot be determined. What matters the most in such scales is the order of the choices, and therefore it was decided that it was safer to test the data with a non-parametric method.

When it came to the four independent variables - direct contact, indirect contact, ingroup norms and outgroup norms - during analysis higher scores were seen to indicate a higher amount of intergroup contact or more favorable norms towards the other group. Because each independent variable was measured with three items, in order to group the results of the items together into one independent variable, the mean score of the three was used to signify the total score of the variable.

In the following tables the dependent variables were split into two to ease the analysis. Table 1 contains the variables 1 to 9, related to how acceptable intercultural relationship were seen when it came to Korean people in general, and Table 2 deals with the variables 9 to 18 that measure the acceptability of intercultural relationships in relation to the respondents themselves. The values in both tables have been rounded to three decimal places for the sake of easier readability.

Looking at Table 1, most of the values of Spearman's rho indicate that there is only a weak or very weak positive correlation between the independent and the dependent variables, as the r_s correlation coefficient in most cases remains much closer to the value of zero than one. At the same time the evidence for rejecting H_0 null hypothesis in most cases is very weak, as the p-value stays above 0.1 for the most part. This signifies that on the basis of this data it is apparent that there is no strong positive correlation between the independent and dependent variables when it comes to the first

nine dependent variables, which in the questionnaire were measured by questions 18 through 26.

Table 1. *Spearman's correlation coefficients and significance between independent and dependent variables 1 to 9, measured by Questions 18 – 26 (N=38).*

Spearman's rho	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
DIRECT CONTACT Correlation coefficient (r_s) Significance (p)	0.361 0.026	0.329 0.044	0.304 0.064	0.333 0.041	0.325 0.047	0.322 0.049	0.228 0.168	0.076 0.649	0.017 0.919
INDIRECT CONTACT Correlation coefficient (r_s) Significance (p)	0.239 0.149	0.227 0.171	0.167 0.315	0.099 0.555	0.076 0.648	0.075 0.655	0.420 0.009	0.265 0.108	0.201 0.227
INGROUP NORMS Correlation coefficient (r_s) Significance (p)	0.375 0.020	0.329 0.044	0.277 0.092	0.031 0.852	0.074 0.658	0.040 0.813	0.242 0.144	0.197 0.237	0.078 0.640
OUTGROUP NORMS Correlation coefficient (r_s) Significance (p)	0.351 0.031	0.290 0.077	0.252 0.127	0.005 0.978	0.153 0.358	0.111 0.506	0.101 0.546	-0.006 0.970	-0.036 0.828

There are, however, some exceptions visible in the results that indicate there might be a positive relationship between the variables. The values that show a slightly stronger correlation paired with strong evidence for rejecting the null hypothesis are marked in bold in the table. Overall the values that indicate the strongest correlation of the batch are discovered between the independent value of direct contact and the dependent variables: the more the respondents have direct contact with non-Korean people in their everyday life, the more accepting they seem to be of Korean people dating or marrying non-Korean people in general (variables 1 and 2). The perceived opinion of the parents of the respondents towards Korean people dating, marrying or having children with people who are not Korean also seems to have a slight positive correlation with the direct contact variable (variables 4, 5 and 6).

Positive ingroup norms and outgroup norms also appear to have a minor positive correlation with the respondents' own acceptance of Korean people having relationships with foreigners. The strongest individual correlation with the strongest significance is found between indirect contact and dependent variable 7 ($r_s = 0.420$, $n = 38$, $p = 0.009$), indicating that the more the respondents experience indirect contact with non-Koreans, the more they believe Korean people in general to be accepting of Korean people dating foreigners. Besides this one moderate correlation, there does not seem to be even slightly significant correlations when it comes to indirect contact.

Table 2 with dependent variables from 10 to 18, measured by the questionnaire questions 27 through 38, displays some more significant results than the first one. Despite this, all in all the correlation coefficient values are not very notable. In the same way as in the first table, bolded values indicate a stronger correlation coefficient and stronger evidence for rejecting the null hypothesis. The strongest positive correlation can be seen between direct contact and the dependent variables in this batch as well, which means that the amount direct contact might have the biggest effect on how open the respondents are to dating, marrying or having children with foreigners (variables 10, 11 and 12). The strongest coefficient values are found between direct contact and dependent variables 10 ($r_s = 0.523$, $n = 38$, $p = 0.001$) and 11 ($r_s = 0.467$, $n = 38$, $p = 0.003$), which stand for the respondents' willingness to consider dating a foreigner and marrying a foreigner, respectively. Direct contact also seems to correlate with the acceptance the respondents would expect to receive from their parents if they were to have a relationship and start a family with someone who is not Korean (variables 13, 14 and 15). When it comes to how accepting other Korean people are believed to be of the possible relationships of the respondents themselves, direct contact seems to have no positive or negative correlation.

Table 2. *Spearman's correlation coefficients and significance between independent and dependent variables 10 to 18, measured by Questions 27 – 38 ($N = 38$).*

Spearman's rho	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
DIRECT CONTACT Correlation coefficient (r_s) Significance (p)	0.523 0.001	0.467 0.003	0.375 0.020	0.377 0.020	0.320 0.050	0.348 0.032	0.092 0.585	-0.121 0.470	-0.116 0.488
INDIRECT CONTACT Correlation coefficient (r_s) Significance (p)	0.252 0.126	0.236 0.153	0.117 0.482	0.194 0.242	0.151 0.366	0.152 0.361	0.027 0.874	0.096 0.568	0.108 0.517
INGROUP NORMS Correlation coefficient (r_s) Significance (p)	0.364 0.025	0.417 0.009	0.228 0.169	0.020 0.906	-0.068 0.684	-0.101 0.545	0.051 0.759	0.146 0.380	0.071 0.673
OUTGROUP NORMS Correlation coefficient (r_s) Significance (p)	0.259 0.117	0.295 0.072	0.328 0.045	0.178 0.286	0.105 0.530	0.097 0.562	0.379 0.019	0.196 0.239	0.230 0.166

Similarly to the first batch of variables, indirect contact was found to have little to no correlation nor heavy evidence to discard the null hypothesis, with the dependent variables that measured acceptance of relationships with foreigners in regard to the respondents themselves. Ingroup norms and outgroup norms both correlate slightly

with some dependent variables: positive ingroup norms might affect the overall willingness of the respondents to consider dating or marrying foreigners (variables 10 and 11). The strongest correlations of outgroup norms are with variable 12 that measured the willingness of the respondents to have children with foreigners, and with variable 16 that measured public acceptance towards the respondent possibly dating a foreigner.

Therefore, this data acquired from the questionnaire does not seem to provide enough evidence to support my main hypothesis that expected the amount and quality of contact Koreans have with foreigners as well as positive ingroup and outgroup norms to have a positive correlation with attitudes towards international relationships and multicultural families. The results seem to point at direct contact having the strongest correlation with the attitudes of Korean people, granted that the correlation between direct contact and the dependent variables for the most part was not found to be much stronger than when it came to the other independent variables.

However, what is interesting about the relationship between the direct contact variable and the dependent variables, is the difference in correlation with the perceived attitudes of Korean people in general. Although the correlation was higher when it came to the respondents and their parents, there is no correlation at all with general attitudes. This could, to some extent, imply that the prejudice lessening effect of having close relationships with foreigners is only seen to be only limited to the closest witnesses of such relationships, although this suggestion would need to be tested more extensively to be proven true.

In conclusion, the results of the correlation test do not provide enough evidence to state that there is a positive monotonic correlation between the amount of contact and attitudes, nor between norms and attitudes towards international couples and multicultural families. Although signs of correlation were found between some variables, overall they are not strong and significant enough to prove the existence of a correlation between the studied variables. However, because the lack of strong monotonic correlations does not signify there is no relationship at all between the variables, the data were also analyzed in a more general sense.

4.2 General results

All in all, the results of the questionnaire imply that the respondents have plenty of contact with people of foreign origin, both directly and indirectly. In regards to direct contact Figure 4 illustrates that a vast majority of respondents reported being friends with at least two foreigners, with most respondents having ten or more friends of foreign origin. Accordingly, most respondents were found to spend time with their non-Korean friends at least occasionally. In addition, only a minority responded they never encounter foreigners in their everyday life, as can be seen in Figure 5.

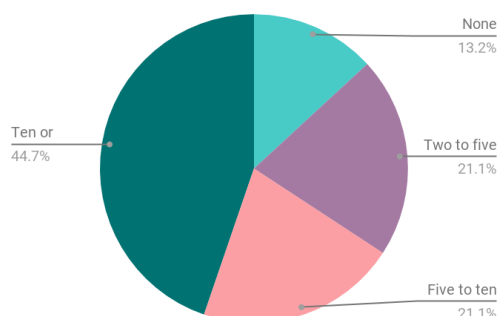


Figure 4. *How many foreign friends do you have? (Question 1)*

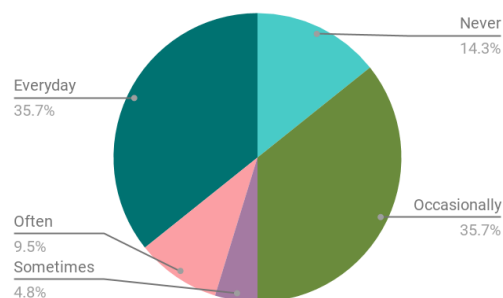


Figure 5. *How often do you encounter non-Korean people in your everyday life? (Question 3)*

As for indirect contact, it is apparent that most respondents also have witnessed people in their surroundings having friendly relationships with people who are not Korean. A mere 7.9 % of respondents answered none of their colleagues at school or work have foreign friends, and only 5.3 % responded none of their friends have non-Korean friends. When inquired if the family members of the respondents have foreign friends, 63.1 % reported at least one person in their family has friends of another origin.

The responses to the six questions about perceived ingroup norms and outgroups norms suggest that in general both groups are seen to hold more positive than negative attitudes towards each other when it comes to interaction. These questions however gathered many neutral responses, which might imply uncertainty about general opinions or hesitancy about choosing overly negative or positive options.

Figure 6 provides a comparison of the responses when respondents were asked how friendly Koreans were towards foreigners and vice-versa: overall it looks like Korean people were perceived to be friendlier than foreigners, but it also has to be taken into account that the questions concerning outgroup norms received significantly more of neutral responses.

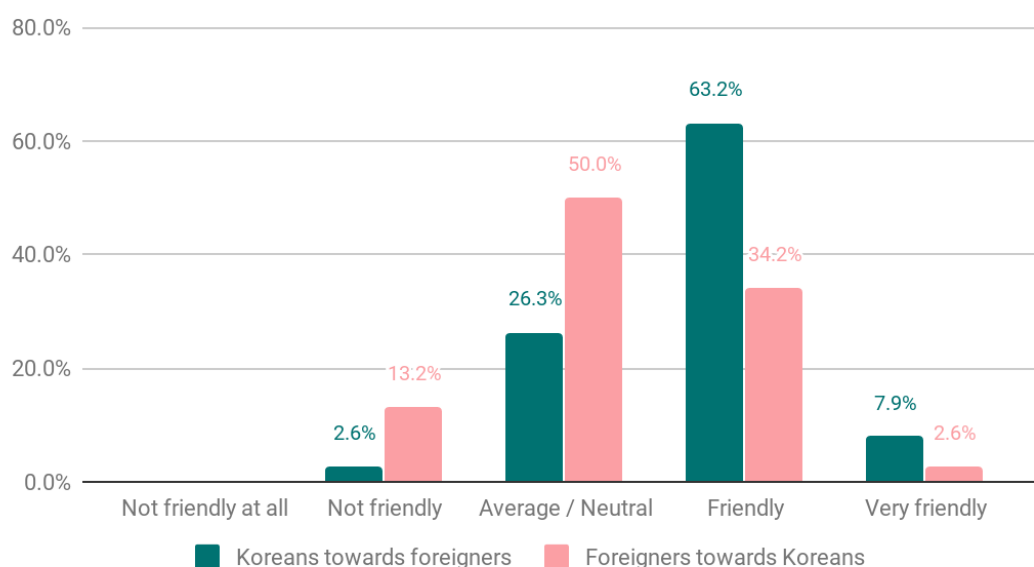


Figure 6. *In general, how friendly do you think Koreans are to foreigners? In general, how friendly do you think foreigners are to Korean people? (Questions 7 & 10)*

Another question that revealed noteworthy differences in responses was how much Korean people are perceived to like foreigners and vice versa. The percentage of respondents who found Korean people do like foreigners came out at 47.7 %, whereas the percentage of those who did not think Korean people like foreigners in general came out at 10.5 %. Similarly to the previously discussed question, fewer people thought foreigners like Koreans: the percentage of people who responded they believe foreigners like Koreans was 36.8 % and the percentage of those who thought foreigners dislike Koreans was 10.5 %. Thus, despite the numbers being lower due to many respondents going for the neutral response, it looks like the norms held by Korean people were perceived to be more slightly more positive towards foreigners than those held by foreigners towards Koreans.

In the case of attitudes, the second major part of the quantitative questionnaire provided results that indicate positive attitudes towards international couples and multicultural families in general. It can be seen from Figure 7 that a clear majority of respondents found all three types of relationships between Korean people and foreigners acceptable. Overall, dating received the most positive response, followed by marriage and childbearing, but as the figure shows, the differences in responses are quite small.

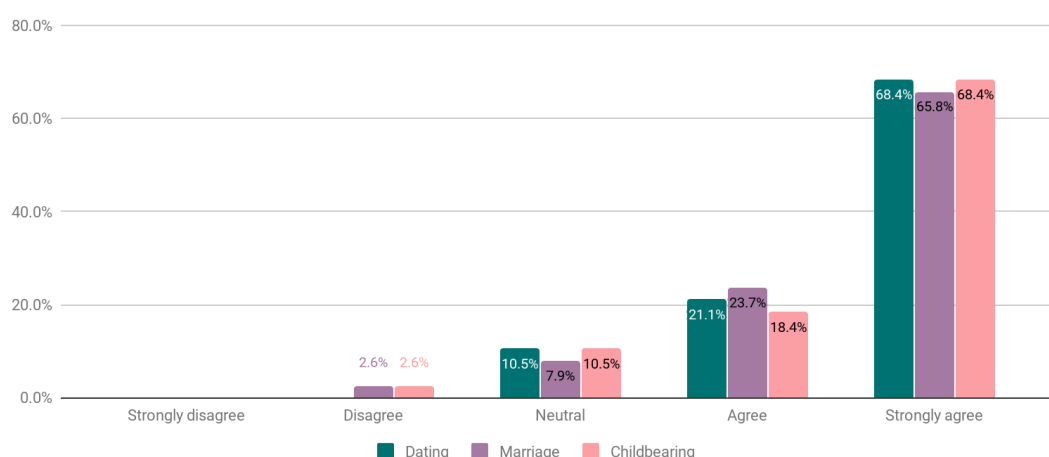


Figure 7. *Attitudes towards the idea of Korean people in general dating, marrying or having children with foreigners (Questions 18, 19 & 20).*

When it came to the perceived opinions of the parents of the respondents and Korean people in general the responses were more scattered. From the data in Figure 8 it can be seen that disagreeing options were chosen significantly more often than in the statements concerning the respondents' own attitudes. This indicates that although the respondents themselves showed positive attitudes, they believe their parents would be significantly less accepting. Again, dating received the most positive response, whereas marriage and childbearing were expected to be less accepted. Considering more people agreed strongly with the statement about marriage than childbearing, it can be concluded that the respondents thought their parents would be slightly more accepting of marriage between Koreans and foreigners than they would be about childbearing. The increase in neutral responses might imply some respondents found it hard to evaluate how their parents would perceive international relationships.

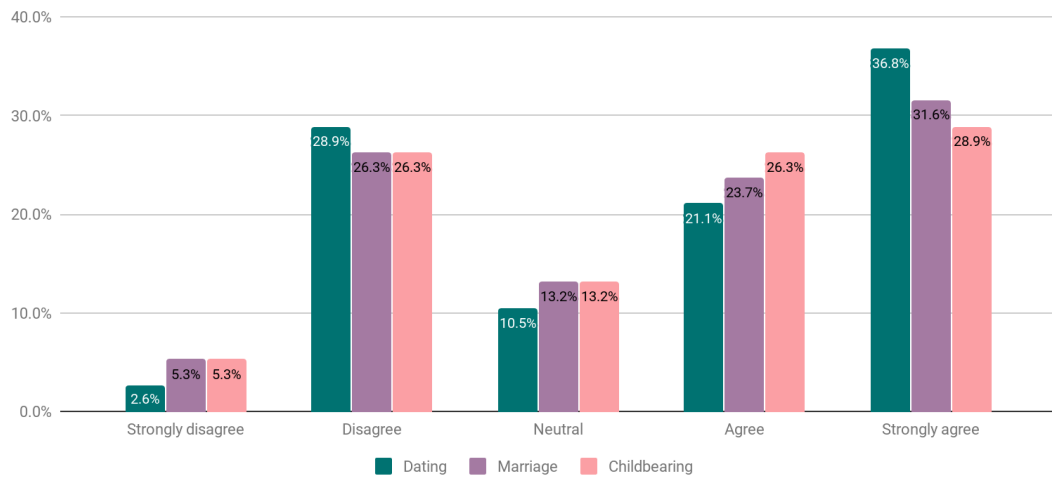


Figure 8. *Perceived attitudes of parents towards the idea of Korean people in general dating, marrying or having children with foreigners (Questions 21, 22 & 23).*

Concerning Korean people in general, more respondents showed uncertainty about the general opinions towards international romantic relationships. Figure 9 displays how the responses were distributed. A clear majority of the respondents chose to neither agree nor disagree with the statements, but all in all, the percentage of respondents agreeing with the statements was notably higher than that of those who disagreed.

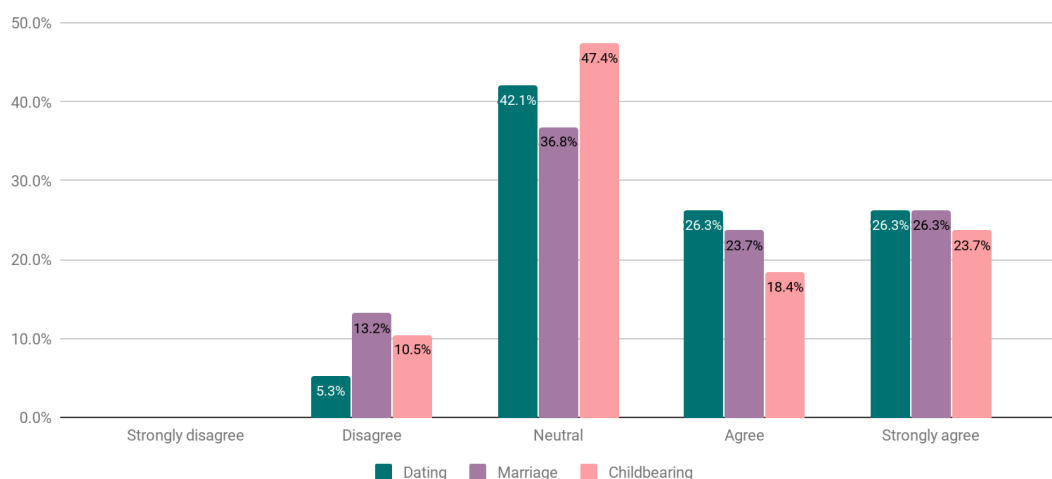


Figure 9. *Perceived attitudes of other Koreans towards the idea of Korean people in general dating, marrying or having children with foreigners (Questions 24, 25 & 26).*

Comparing the percentages to those of Figure 8, it seems like respondents thought their parents would view international relationships more positively than the general public. The rate of disagreement was also lower than that of the parents, but that can probably be attributed to the significantly high amount of neutral responses. It is unclear if the respondents saw the neutral choice as a way to display uncertainty about the public reaction, or if it was seen more as a way to express the general public would not care about the relationships of other Koreans.

Regarding whether the respondents themselves could personally consider a relationship with someone who is not Korean, the results displayed slightly less positive responses than when the respondents were inquired about Koreans in general. As seen in Figure 10, most of the respondents were open to the idea of having an international relationships, although some respondents could not imagine considering it. The pattern of dating gathering the most positive responses remained consistent.

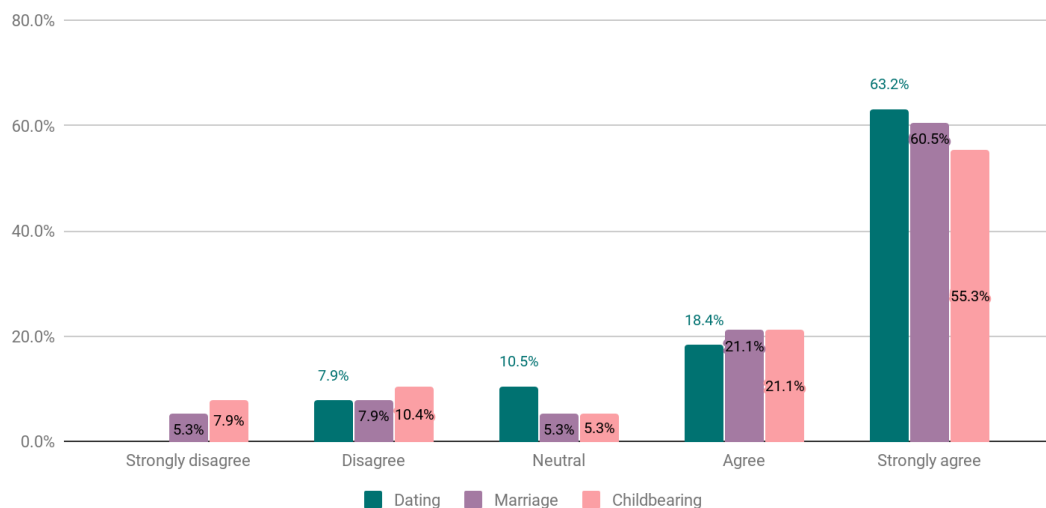


Figure 10. *Attitudes towards the idea of personally dating, marrying or having children with a foreigner (Questions 27, 28 & 29).*

The responses to the statements about whether the respondents believed their parents would approve of their relationship with a foreigner were distributed differently. Figure 11 shows the perceived attitudes of parents are somewhat less accepting than the attitudes of the respondents themselves. The disagreement rates do not display much difference, but the option ‘strongly agree’ was chosen considerably less often.

On average, the respondents seemed to believe their parents would be accepting if their offspring were to pursue an international relationship.

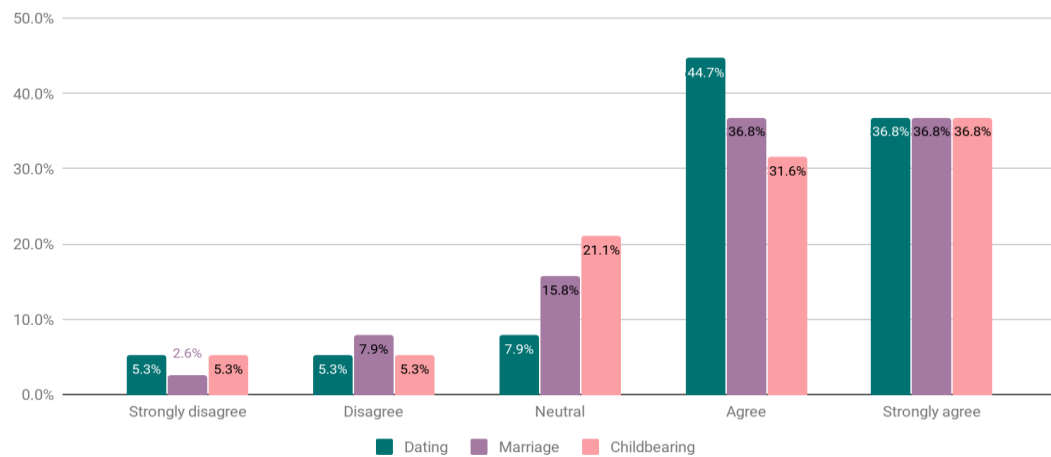


Figure 11. *Perceived attitudes of parents if the respondent was to date, marry or have children with a foreigner (Questions 21, 22 & 23).*

As for the perceived attitudes of other Koreans displayed in Figure 12, curiously attitudes were found to be more positive than when it came to Korean people generally having romantic relationships with people of foreign origin. However, also the disagreement rate was bigger in regard to the relationships of the respondents themselves. Overall the general public was found to be less accepting than the respondents' own parents, and the neutral option was again chosen more often.

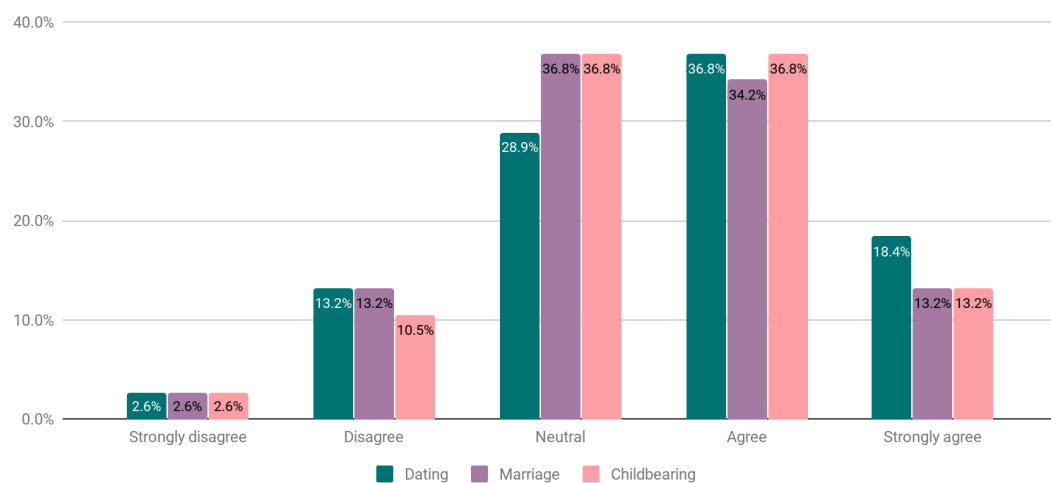


Figure 12. *Perceived attitudes of other Korean people if the respondent was to date, marry or have children with a foreigner (Questions 33, 34 & 35).*

The general openness to relationships with foreigners discovered in the qualitative questionnaire was also addressed in the quantitative survey and generated varied opinions in the respondents. Multiple respondents expressed that Korean people look at international relationships more openly because more foreigners and international couples appear in the media nowadays, and they are portrayed in a very positive light. At the same time, three male respondents did not believe that Korean people in reality would consider having a relationship with a foreigner so lightly:

I do not know if [the respondents] have seriously considered it. It might be that they have thought about it just once. More international couples / foreigners appear in the media than before, which is why people have become used to them and look at them more positively.

One of the respondents in their 20s thought foreigners are seen as more desirable partners in marriage because they share the burden of household chores. In a somewhat related fashion, another respondent, a woman in her 50s, brought up patriarchy as one of the reasons many Korean people look towards international marriage:

Yes, many people think positively [about international relationships]. [International relationships] are described very positively in Korean media. Additionally, [people think] foreigners are less patriarchal than Korean men and their families.

When inquired what the respondents thought about the finding that Korean people are more open to dating than starting a family with a foreigner, most respondents implied they thought the result was representative of the general population. A couple of respondents thought Koreans might try dating a foreigner out of curiosity, and some thought Korean people are still conservative when it comes to marriage, which is why they tend to prefer Korean spouses. Two respondents mentioned practical issues, such as visas and economic activities, as possible obstacles in starting a family with a foreigner. A female respondent in her late 30s believed the results came out this way because the idea of multiculturalism is still new to the Korean society:

Because people have not become used to multiculturalism yet, there are many obstacles when it comes to becoming a [multicultural] family.

Comparing the results of the second major section of the quantitative questionnaire to those of the first major section, it was found that overall the respondents who had frequent direct contact with non-Koreans displayed more positive attitudes than those

who did not. A higher number of foreign friends did not automatically correlate with more positive attitudes, but the respondents who did not have foreign friends exhibited not only the least positive attitudes towards Korean people in general having relationships with foreigners, but were also the least open to the idea of dating, marrying or having children with a foreigner themselves. The difference in attitudes was more pronounced in the latter case, but all in all, respondents without any foreign friends were also found to hold more positive than negative attitudes about the subject. When it came to the time spent with foreign friends, the respondents who spent time with them every day displayed the most positive attitudes. As for everyday encounters with foreigners, no significant difference was found in general attitudes, but when it came to personal readiness to consider pursuing an international relationship, the respondents who reported never encountering foreigners in their everyday life displayed the least favorable attitudes.

In the case of indirect contact, the results revealed similar tendencies. When asked if it was okay for Korean people in general to date, marry or have children with non-Koreans and if they could consider such relationships themselves, the respondents whose colleagues at school or work, as far as they knew, had no foreign friends displayed the lowest percentage of approval. Correspondingly, those who evaluated that most or at least half of their colleagues had foreign friends were found to hold the most positive attitudes. In a similar fashion, the respondents who reported their friends and family did not have foreign friends exhibited the least positive attitudes. However, in many of the statements respondents without a chance for indirect contact with non-Koreans did not necessarily disagree more than the other respondents, but showed the most uncertainty or neutrality by choosing to neither agree nor disagree with the statements.

Analysis was also made comparing the responses of the second major section to the responses given to questions about ingroup and outgroup norms. Despite the previous paragraphs indicating a connection between the amount of contact the respondents had with non-Korean people and attitudes, when it comes to norms, no such connection was found. Respondents who evaluated either group to have negative norms towards interaction with another group did not consistently display less negative attitudes than other respondents towards international relationships. This was the case for both ingroup and outgroup norms. Another comparison was made between the way

the respondents perceived ingroup and outgroup norms and how much direct contact they had with non-Korean people, but the comparison did not show a link between the two.

The results of the quantitative questionnaire also showed slight variance in the attitudes of those who had previously resided and those who had not. Respondents who had lived outside of Korea at some point of their lives displayed relatively more positive attitudes, as they were more prone to agree with the statements in the second major section. For instance, 84.0 % of those who had not spent time abroad approved of intermarriage between Koreans and foreigners in general, whereas the percentage of approval for those who have lived overseas was 97.5 %. The percentages regarding dating and childbearing were similar with some very minor fluctuation.

The differences were notably bigger when the respondents were inquired about their own readiness to date, marry or have children with foreigners. The most significant difference in attitudes was towards childbearing: as shown in Figure 13, most of the respondents showed positive attitudes, but all in all the respondents who had experience living outside of Korea were more open to the idea of having children with a person of a foreign origin. Dating and marriage gathered more positive responses from both groups, but the difference in attitudes was still noteworthy, as in each case positive responses of those who have resided abroad constituted for at least 10 percentage points more than positive responses of those who have not.

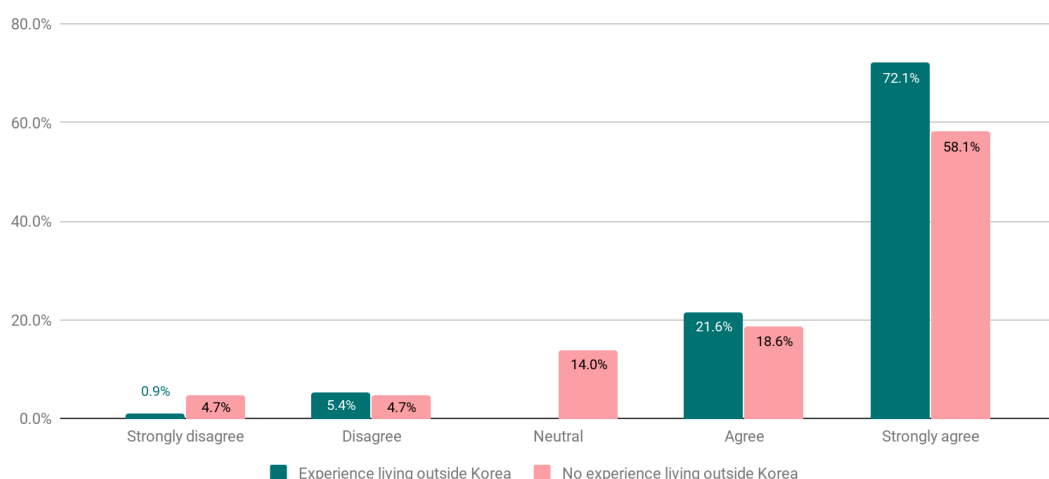


Figure 13. *Attitudes towards the idea of personally having children with a foreigner divided by whether the respondent has previously lived outside of Korea or not (Question 29).*

A comparison of the results of respondents who reported knowing an international couple and those who did not also revealed some differences in attitudes. As Figure 14 shows, respondents who knew an international couple were found to be notably more accepting of international relationships in general. In the questions measuring general acceptance, the disapproval rate remained close to zero with all respondents. Those who reported knowing an international couple were also more open to relationships with foreigners themselves, with the percentages of positive responses staying close to a hundred in all cases. Respondents who did not personally know any international couples, however, displayed more negative attitudes, with the percentage of respondents agreeing they could consider dating, marrying or having children with a foreigner dropping closer to 40 % in all cases. In addition, out of the respondents who did not know any international couples 8.7 % disagreed they could consider dating, while 27.3 % disagreed they could consider marriage or childbearing with a foreigner.

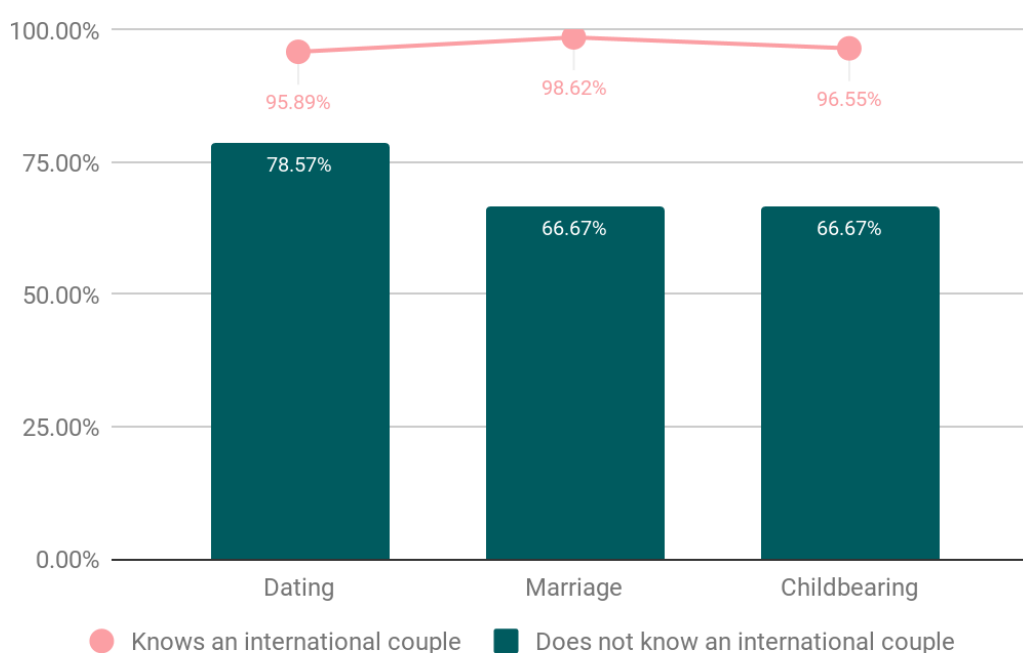


Figure 14. *Positive responses towards Koreans in general dating, marrying or having children with foreigners, divided by whether the respondent knows an international couple or not (Questions 18, 19 and 20).*

When it came to knowing multicultural families, the results showed similar but less strong differences. Respondents who reported knowing a multicultural family displayed more positive attitudes than those who did not, but the difference in attitudes

was less severe than between those who did and did not know another international couple. Overall, the attitude differences were again more notable when the respondents were asked if they could consider having international relationships themselves. Figure 15 shows the comparison between the positive responses received from the two groups: a notably smaller percentage of those who do not know any multicultural families responded they could consider dating, marriage or childbearing with someone who is not Korean. The disagreement rate was lower for those who did know a multicultural family, but overall it never rose above 7.4 % for either group of respondents. The figure shows some inconsistency with the overall results, as in some cases the possibility of dating is viewed less positively than marriage or childbearing, but the disagreement rate stayed consistent with childbearing being the most disagreed option for both groups.

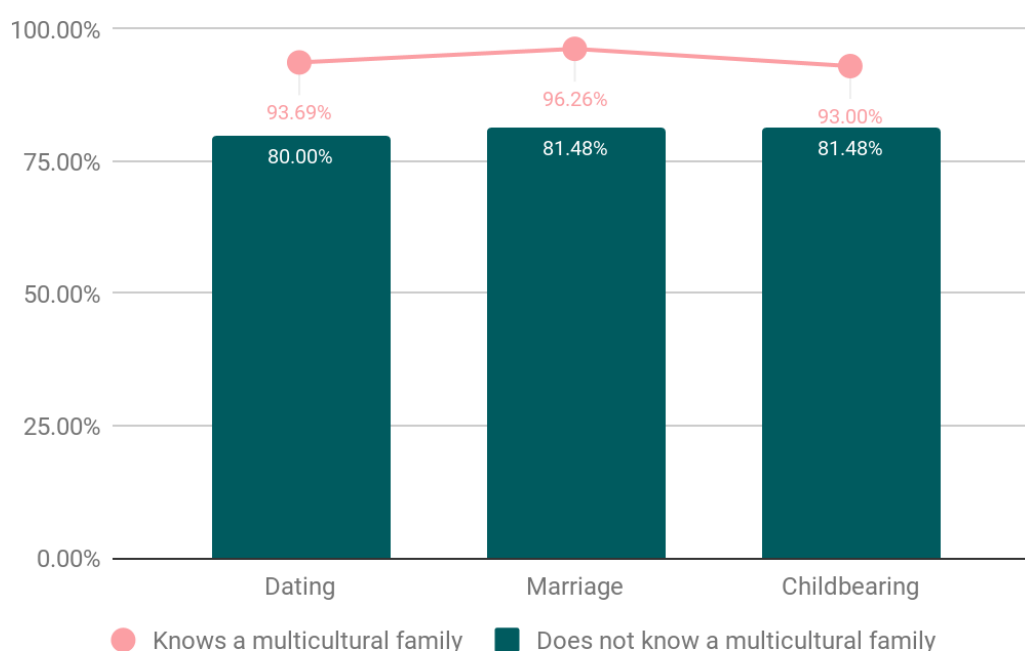


Figure 15. *Positive responses towards the idea of the respondent dating, marrying or having children with foreigners, divided by whether the respondent knows a multicultural family or not (Questions 26, 27 and 28).*

The results also demonstrate slight differences in the perceptions of male and female respondents. In regard to Korean people generally, female respondents were more inclined to strongly agree with the statements that dating, marrying or having children with foreigners is acceptable, while male respondents showed slightly more toned

down attitudes even if the total agreement rate around the same level. As for other people's attitudes, the positive responses decreased slightly for respondents of both sexes but there was no significant differences between the responses of the two groups of respondents.

When asked if they would be willing to have international relationships themselves, women showed stronger agreement but also more disagreement in all cases. Whereas the attitudes of male respondents remained on very similar levels for dating, marrying and childbearing, female respondents displayed larger gaps between attitudes towards different types of relationships. On the question of how other people would react to the respondent having an international relationship of some kind, no notable differences were found between sexes when it came to the perceived attitudes of parents. However, in the statements about other Korean people thinking it would be okay for the respondent to date, marry or have children with a person of another origin, female respondents demonstrated notably less positive attitudes. From Figure 16 we can see that women not only agreed less often but also disagreed more frequently with the statement that other Koreans would accept their international relationship.

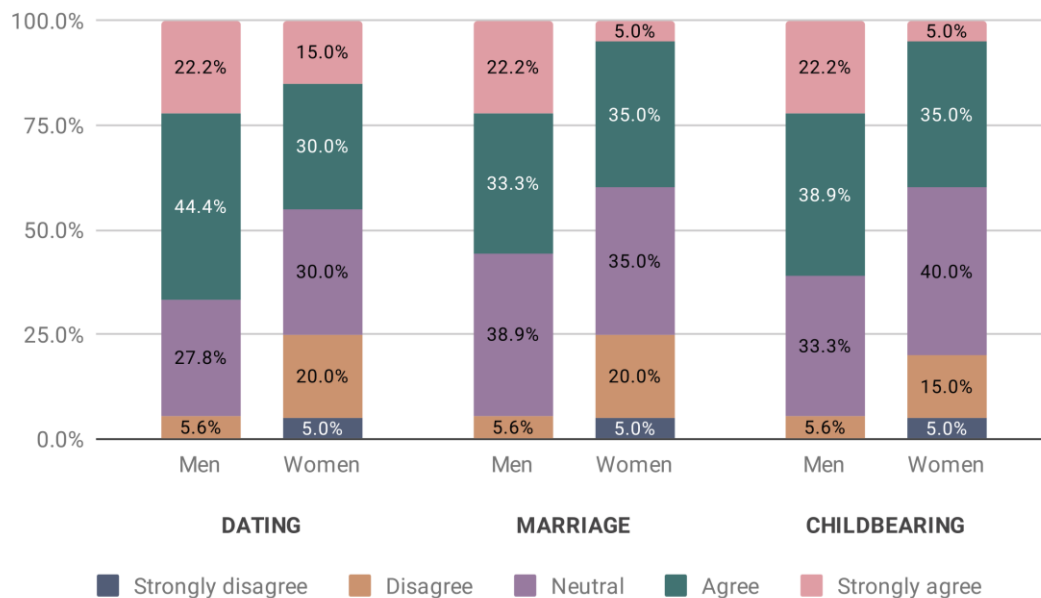


Figure 16. *Perceived attitudes of other Korean people if the respondent was to date, marry or have children with a foreigner divided by sex of the respondent (Questions 33, 34 & 35).*

It is possible the aforementioned differences in perceived attitudes are a reflection of the fact that the multicultural policy and the occurrence of intermarriage in Korea have highly patriarchal elements, as discussed in the second chapter. This is why the trend of international marriage being more common among Korean men was also brought up in one of the questions of the qualitative survey. The respondents were inquired what they thought about the difference in the amount of Korean men and women getting married to foreigners, and why they thought that is the case. Most respondents seemed to be aware of the developments behind the current situation, mentioning that most of the international marriages happen in the rural areas, like in this response written by a woman in her 20s:

It is because there are many marriages between Korean men who have passed the best age to marry, and Southeast Asian women, mainly in the rural areas.

Two respondents also touched upon the increase of the number of Korean women who do not want to get married, citing that as one of the reasons many men look for a foreign brides, as one respondent put it:

The number of Korean women who are single [by choice] is high, and because their economic power is also rising, it has become difficult for Korean men to get married to Korean women. Therefore, many men choose to marry women from countries of a lower economic status than Korea.

As explained earlier, the third major section of the first questionnaire dealt with race and area of origin: the respondents were asked to choose out of different racial and regional groups with whom they would consider dating, marrying or having children. Figure 17 displays the comparison between the attitudes about dating, marriage and childbearing in regard to racial groups. The percentages signify the percentage of respondents who responded they would consider having some kind of a relationship with a person belonging to the specific group. It can be observed that the option to date received the most positive responses in all cases, which corresponds with the finding that Korean people are more willing to consider dating a non-Korean person than starting a family with them. Asian received the most positive responses when it came to dating and marriage, while White was the most popular option when it came to childbearing. The least positive responses were given to Black: although the same amount of people thought they could date a Black or a Hispanic person, the amount of positive responses regarding marriage and childbearing was the lowest for Black.



Figure 17. *Positive responses towards dating, marriage and childbearing divided by racial groups (Question 36).*

To contrast with the attitudes towards different races, Figure 18 shows the comparison between the responses when the options were split into regions. Similarly to the previous figure, it is clear that dating is the most easily considered option, with the percentage of willingness to date staying above 60 % in all cases. The most positive responses were given to East Asian and European, as the percentage is as high as 78.9 % for both options. It can be seen that the least positive response in regard to dating was received by South Asian and Other Asian, which in the questionnaire was specified to mean people from countries such as Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. As for marriage, European, North American and East Asian, respectively, received the most positive responses, whereas Middle Eastern received the least positive responses. Concerning childbearing the most positive responses were given to European, East Asian and North American, respectively, while Middle Eastern got the least positive responses.

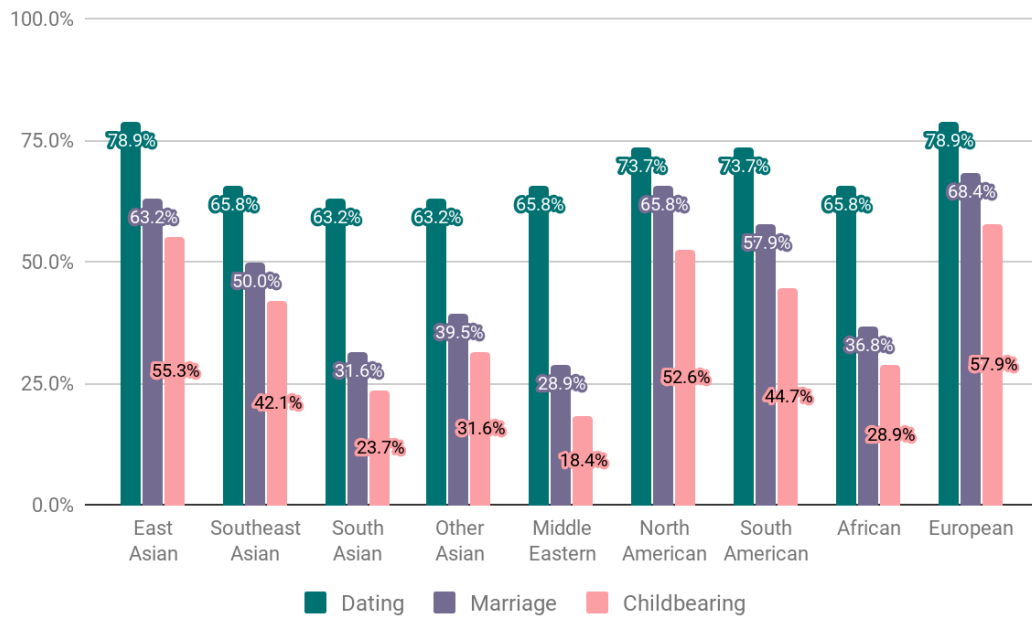


Figure 18. Positive responses towards dating, marriage and childbearing divided by regional groups (Question 37).

Comparing the two figures to each other, it can be noticed that although Asian was the option to receive most positive responses in Figure 17, the positive responses given to Asians from elsewhere than East Asia were notably less than those given to the Asian racial group and the East Asian regional group. A probable explanation is that the percentage of positive responses towards Asian was dragged higher by the thought of East Asians. It is also possible that the respondents automatically associated the word Asian with East Asia, as that is where Korea itself is located. Another comparison should be made with the two figures when it comes to the high willingness to have relationships with Europeans and North Americans. Europe and North America as continents are both known to be very racially and ethnically diverse, but on the whole, the amount of positive responses given to the two regions visible in Figure 18 only seem to match with the amount of positive responses given to White, as seen in Figure 17. Therefore, it is likely that the respondents mostly associated European and North American as White, when in reality the terms could stand for people of any race or ethnicity.

As the results of the first questionnaire revealed the race and the home region of a person seem to affect how open Korean people are towards dating, marrying or

having children with them, the finding was also addressed in one of the questions of the second survey. When the respondents were asked about if they thought the home country of a person matters when it comes to having a relationship with them, and why they think the results of the first questionnaire came out this way, the responses showed some dispersion. Two respondents, a man and a woman both in their 20s, thought nationality makes no difference. The male respondent wrote that even a bad relationship between two countries would not matter if two people really liked each other, while the female respondent thought nationality would be insignificant if one had real foreign friends. At the same time the female respondent acknowledged nationality can influence the kind of prejudice a foreigner might receive in Korea, which indicates the respondent might see the connection between having foreign friends and prejudice against non-Koreans. Two other respondents associated the result with the conservativeness of the Korean culture. Economic reasons were also brought up by two respondents, both of whom thought Korean people would prefer foreigners from economically developed countries, which is in accordance with the ideas discussed in the second and third chapters of this thesis. One of the respondents associated this with women especially:

- - Korean women, more than men, tend to avoid relationships with - - people from countries that are less economically developed than Korea. It is not limited to foreigners, because the preference [for a spouse] of higher economic status is higher in general.

Furthermore, in general the results of the quantitative questionnaire reflect the increase in the number of international relationships and multicultural families over recent years: 81.6 % of the respondents of the first questionnaire reported knowing an international couple, while 65.8 % reported knowing a multicultural family. Somewhat surprisingly 10.5 % of the respondents also reported having a family member who is not Korean, and 34.2 % responded that they have dated in the past or are currently dating a person of another origin.

The responses received to the qualitative survey also support the idea that intermarried couples and their families are becoming more visible in Korea. Five out of eight respondents replied in the affirmative when asked if they can notice in their everyday life that there are more international couples and multicultural families in

Korea than before. A male respondent in his late 20s saw the current situation very positively:

I think it's a natural and positive change. I feel [the change]. I can see many foreigners who are not just tourists, but actually live and work in my neighborhood.

One of the respondents, also in their 20s, responded they believed they did not notice the increase in their everyday life because most of the internationally married couples live in the countryside. This again displays an awareness of the circumstances of many international marriages in Korea. Another male respondent in the same age group expressed some duality about the situation in his answer:

Exposure [of international marriage and multicultural families] has increased in the media, but I cannot feel [the change] in my everyday surroundings.

In summary, the findings of the surveys imply that Korean people hold positive attitudes towards intermarriage and multicultural families in general, and are themselves quite open to the idea of dating, marrying or having children with a foreigner. However, although generally the respondents seem to think relationships between Koreans and non-Koreans are not something negative, they are slightly less open to personally having such relationships. For the most part, the respondents also seem to think that their parents and Korean people in general would be quite accepting if the respondent decided to be in a romantic relationship with a person of another origin, although the parents and the society as a whole are seen to be less understanding than the respondents themselves. The thought of starting a family with a foreigner through marriage and childbearing seems to be slightly more opposed than more casual relationships. Attitudes seem to be connected to the amount of contact the respondents have had with foreigners, international couples and multicultural families, as well as the type of the suggested relationship. Male and female respondents seem to hold slightly varying attitudes. Differences in attitudes were also shown towards different racial or regional groups.

5 Discussion

The main goal of my thesis was to find a connection between the amount and quality of contact Korean people have with people of other ethnicities and attitudes Koreans hold towards international relationships. It was hypothesized that a positive correlation would be found between contact and attitudes, in accordance with the intergroup contact hypothesis that suggests intergroup contact weakens prejudice, and accordingly makes attitudes towards outgroups more positive. This objective was investigated through a questionnaire distributed among Korean people online.

Looking at the results through Spearman's rank correlation coefficient, which was chosen as the appropriate testing method for its nonparametric nature that matched the type of questions posed in the questionnaire, the findings of the questionnaire did not seem to provide statistically significant proof of a positive correlation between intergroup contact and attitudes towards intermarriage. Even so, some variables did display moderate correlations between each other, and those correlations were also supported by strong levels of significance meaning the null hypothesis could be rejected. The most notable amount of these moderate correlations was detected between the independent variable that measured direct contact, such as friendship and everyday encounters with foreigners, and the dependent variables measuring the respondents own attitudes and the perceived attitudes of the respondents' parents. This finding implies that, to some extent, it can be said that the more the respondents have face-to-face contact with foreigners, the more open they are towards dating, marriage or childbearing between Korean and non-Korean people. At the same time the more the respondents encounter foreigners, the more they seem to expect their parents to have positive attitudes towards international relationships as well.

Although the conducted correlation test also revealed other moderate correlations between the variables, their inconsistency gives reason to doubt their noteworthiness. For instance, outgroup norms displayed slight positive correlation with the variable measuring how the respondents view the general idea of Koreans dating foreigners, but the correlations between the corresponding variables about marriage and childbearing were less significant. However, when the respondents were asked if they were open to consider dating or marriage with someone who is not Korean, the correlation with outgroup norms was very irrelevant, but curiously the

correlation was found to be higher again when it came to childbearing. I would assume it is unlikely that perceiving positive outgroup norms would make the respondents' general attitude regarding dating and marriage more positive, and at the same time positively affect the respondents' willingness to have children with someone of another origin, when it did not affect their willingness to date or marry. This assumption is strengthened by the general results displaying that the respondents are more open towards the idea of dating a foreigner than having a more committed family relationship. Thus, the overall results of the quantitative questionnaire suggest that only direct contact has a moderate monotonic correlation with the attitudes the respondents hold towards intermarriage and other international relationships.

When examining the results of the Spearman's rank correlation test through the theoretical framework of intergroup contact, it looks like the results are more supportive of the initial intergroup contact hypothesis. The hypothesis claims direct face-to-face contact with people belonging to an outgroup is the type of contact most likely to reduce prejudice, and consequently transform attitudes into a more positive direction. As previous research has shown, the effects of direct intergroup interaction are likely to generalize, meaning that the effects of positive interaction with a member of an outgroup tend to extend to other people belonging to the same outgroup. Therefore, taking into consideration also the moderate correlation found between direct contact and many of the dependent variables, it is possible that the positive attitudes towards international relationships are indeed related to the amount of direct contact the respondents have with foreigners.

However, a moderate correlation was also found between direct contact and the perceived attitudes of the respondents' parents, which could suggest that indirect contact is indeed effective after all, in spite of the lack of a notable correlation. On one hand, the correlation might indicate that the positive relationships the respondent has with non-Koreans have positively affected the attitudes of their parents as well. On the other hand, the parents' attitudes are reported by their children in the survey, which might make results unreliable, even if the responses in general indicate the attitudes of the parents are somewhat less positive. It is also not known if the parents themselves have friendly relationships with people who are not Korean, as that could also have a positive influence on their attitudes.

When examining correlations, however, one must take into account that correlation does not necessarily equal causation. In spite of this, when the signs of moderate correlations are looked at in relation to the various studies that indicate intergroup contact is effective in improving attitudes between groups, it is possible that even small correlations can suggest a cause and effect relationship. Thus, based on the moderate positive correlations we can assume that because the respondents have had positive interaction with foreigners through friendships, it is likely that they also view other foreigners in a positive view and consequently became more open to the idea of mixed relationships.

Having discussed the results of the conducted correlation test, I will now turn to examine the results in regard to the first research questions in a more general sense. To support the moderate correlations, comparisons made between the amount of contact the respondents had with foreigners and the attitudes they displayed in their responses suggest it is likely there is a connection between the two. As discussed in the previous chapter, more positive attitudes towards international relationships were exhibited by respondents who had foreign friends and those who had encounters with foreigners in their everyday life compared to those who did not. More positive attitudes were also shown by respondents who had previously resided overseas, and it can be assumed that they have had more contact with non-Koreans than those who had not stayed outside of Korea before. Therefore, although it cannot be said with certainty that the more direct contact one has with foreigners, the more open they are towards international relationships, it looks like having direct and somewhat frequent contact with non-Korean people could affect the openness Koreans feel towards dating, marrying or having children with foreigners. This finding is in accordance with intergroup contact hypothesis.

As per the extended intergroup contact hypothesis, being merely a witness of a friendly relationship between a Korean and non-Korean might make the attitudes Korean people hold towards foreigners more positive. Therefore, another factor predicted to affect the attitudes Korean people hold towards international relationships was indirect or extended contact. The correlation test did not display a significant monotonic correlation between the independent variable of indirect contact and the dependent variables, but further analysis revealed there might still be a connection between indirect contact and attitudes. Respondents who reported their colleagues,

friends or family members having foreign friends were found to have more positive attitudes towards Korean people dating, marrying or having children with non-Koreans both generally and personally. This could imply that the extended contact theory also works when it comes to attitudes towards relationships with outgroup members.

Another finding that supports the plausibility of the extended intergroup contact hypothesis is that the respondents who knew an international couple or a multicultural family displayed more positive attitudes than those who did not. These results might be related to the concept of positive ingroup and outgroup exemplars introduced in the section about the extended intergroup contact theory. Witnessing romantic relationships between other Koreans and foreigners might have provided the respondents with exemplars of positive intergroup interaction, which has then affected the way their attitudes have taken shape. Therefore, finding reassurance that such relationships may be successful and seeing the norm of endogamy broken by another Korean might make the thought of dating, marrying and having children with a foreigner more natural in the eyes of the respondents.

At the same time none of the respondents showed overly negative attitudes towards international relationships: the general attitudes seemed very positive even when the respondent did not have foreign friends or reported minimal extended contact through family or friends. Taking this into account, it is possible that the effect of extended intergroup contact could reach Korean people through media content, as positive portrayal of outgroups has been found to improve intergroup attitudes even without the opportunity for face-to-face contact (e.g. Lienemann & Stopp 2013; Wojcieszak & Azrout 2016). This aspect was also mentioned by respondents in the qualitative survey, as many mentioned they had noticed an increase in the visibility of immigrants and international couples in media, and some even directly associated it with the results of the quantitative questionnaire that implied Korean people hold positive attitudes towards international romantic relationships. Increased media visibility on the other hand is likely a result of the rise in the number of immigrants in Korea, as well as the multicultural policy that seemingly tries to improve the attitudes people hold towards diversity.

The second goal of the thesis was to determine if ingroup and outgroup norms might influence attitudes towards different types of international relationships. This

goal was related to the extended intergroup contact hypothesis: on the basis of the hypothesis it was assumed that respondents who perceive other Koreans to have favorable outlooks towards non-Koreans, and vice-versa, would be more likely to approve of relationships between members of the two groups. However, no significant correlation was found between norms and attitudes. Other comparisons made between respondents who perceived norms to be positive and those who did not also provided no proof of a connection between norms and attitudes in this case. At the same time, more positive views of ingroup or outgroup norms did not seem to be linked to the amount of direct contact the respondents had with foreigners.

The reason for this result is unclear but might have something to do with the heterogeneity of the outgroup: as discussed in the chapter focusing on the theoretical background of the thesis, outgroup exemplars of positive norms are more effective when the outgroup is considered homogeneous. Because the immigrants in Korea come from various origins, they are most likely also categorized into different groups, and thus evaluating what kind of norms each category of immigrants have towards interaction with natives becomes more complicated. I think this effect can also be extended to the ingroup norms. Korean people have different attitudes towards different immigrant groups which makes it harder to generalize the effects of the norms they have towards interaction. The questionnaire also combined all kinds of non-Koreans in one group, which might have affected the results. In fact, many respondents chose the neutral option in the questions dealing with norms, which might indicate difficulties in assessing the norms of interaction between Koreans and foreigners. This could be related to the issue created stemming from the large diversity of the outgroup.

The third research question in this thesis sought to determine what other factors might affect the attitudes Korean people have towards international couples and multicultural families. Firstly, in a display of some ingroup bias, the respondents of the survey were found to hold slightly more positive attitudes towards other Koreans having international relationships than towards the idea of personally dating, marrying or having children with a non-Korean. Thus, it seems like attitudes are somewhat affected by whether they concern the idea on a collective or an individual level. Osanami Törngren (2011: 238) suggests such results might be related to the idea of individual choice: the respondents who approved of international relationships in general but did not display openness towards personally having a relationship with a

non-Korean might have associated the questions with personal preference rather than an issue of group-based prejudice. Some of the responses in the qualitative inquiry in fact alluded to this idea of personal choice by emphasizing a person's country of origin does not matter when the feelings between two people are strong enough. Through the concept of personal preference, it is possible to show acceptance of international couples and multicultural families even while personally rejecting the idea of such relationships. This, however, represents another type of reservation towards cross-group relationships and consequently reveals that some kind of prejudiced attitudes might still be present in the minds of the respondents. (Ibid. 238.)

At the same time the results implied that compared to marriage or childbearing the respondents were overall more approving of casual relationships with non-Koreans, both generally and personally. Childbearing was the option that gathered least positive responses. This indicates that the type of relationship suggested with people who are not Korean is of importance when it comes to attitudes. A possible explanation might lie in the commitment included in the idea of marriage: in Korea and other countries in the region marriage is often considered to be tightly connected to childbearing, child-rearing and other responsibilities inside the family sphere. Furthermore, marriage that does not lead to childbearing is still atypical. (Jones, Straughan & Chan 2008: 13.) Therefore, the nature of marriage as an institution makes it a family issue that concerns not only the couple but also their families, which might make Koreans more hesitant towards marriage and childbearing with people of another origin. However, it must also be remembered that there is a significant amount of Korean people who do not want to get married at all (Kim & Park 2017), which was not taken into account during the planning of the questionnaire.

On the basis of the results revealing there are differences in the attitudes of male and female respondents, it is possible that attitudes are also influenced by the sex of the respondent. If this is the case, it most likely has to do with the patriarchal culture addressed in the second chapter. Results indicated that, compared to women, men expect the general public to be significantly more accepting if they were to date, marry or have children with a foreigner, which could support the idea that unions between Korean men and foreign-born women are considered more acceptable because of patriarchal family values. On the other hand, patriarchal values also seem to drive some women towards international marriage, as mentioned in the section reviewing

the current circumstances of international couples in Korea. This aspect was also touched upon by two respondents of the qualitative survey who mentioned the patriarchal system is the reason Korean people seek international relationships.

In a sense, the results of the quantitative questionnaire may be interpreted to suggest generational differences in attitudes. Although most of the respondents were in their 20s, the questionnaire also inquired about the perceived attitudes of the respondent's parents. Overall, the parents of the respondents were evaluated to be less approving of international relationships than the respondents themselves. Because we are only examining perceived attitudes it is difficult to explain this result, but it might be related to the time period during which the parents of the respondents were brought up. As discussed in Chapter 2, intermarriage only became more common by the end of the 20th century, and thus it is likely that the parents of the respondents were not too familiar with international couples or multicultural families in their youth. By contrast, the respondents themselves have grown up in the time of rapidly increasing immigration, and have most likely been more affected by the state's policy of multiculturalism while receiving their education. Multicultural education could be considered an instance of institutional support that has facilitated the effects of intergroup contact, as suggested by the intergroup hypothesis. Moreover, generational differences were also visible in the results of the official survey measuring attitudes towards multiculturalism which revealed younger participants were more accepting of multiculturalism than older participants (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family 2019a: 71). Therefore, it is possible that attitudes towards international relationships are affected by generational factors and different mindsets resulting from them.

Lastly, the results heavily indicate that Koreans hold different attitudes depending on the racial background and the country of origin of the non-Korean party in an international relationship, at least in the question of whether they can personally imagine dating, marrying or having children with a person of another origin. When the respondents were asked who they would consider dating, marrying or having children with out of four racial categories, most positive responses were given to Asian in regard to dating and marriage and to White in regard to childbearing. When people were categorized by geographic region, European gathered the overall most positive responses, followed by East Asian and North American. Some categories received significantly less positive responses especially when it came to marriage and

childbearing. That being the case, it is clear that attitudes are affected by the origin of the foreign-born person.

This finding is consistent with the way social categorization seems to work in Korea. As mentioned in the third chapter, the hierarchy of social groups in Korea concerns the level of development of a foreigner's country of origin, as well as their skin color. Discrimination is more prominent towards people who come from economically less developed countries. I believe such ideas of hierarchy are possible explanations for why some groups were clearly favored over others in the questionnaire results. For instance, East Asia is home to some of the world's largest and most successful economies, and thus, Koreans are more open to dating, marrying or having children with other East Asians. Same could be argued for Europe and North America. As for the racial categories, White was more favored than Black or Hispanic, which could be a reflection of the hierarchy based on skin color. Thus, it seems possible that some groups were preferred over others because of prejudiced attitudes resulting from social categorization. At the same time, as Brown (2010: 7) specified, it must be remembered that even the seemingly positive attitudes towards a certain group might be prejudiced in the sense that they make assumptions of people merely based on group membership.

With respect to the last two research questions, inspection of existing literature revealed the policy of multiculturalism practiced by the state is very much related to strengthening the competitiveness of Korea on a global scale. Although multiculturalism has been linked to valuing diversity and human rights in some instances, becoming a multicultural society is mainly seen as a means to solve issues hindering competitiveness, such as lack of labor force in low-wage jobs, decreasing fertility rate and rapidly ageing society. As such, the current practice of multiculturalism is seen as an enforcement of ethnic nationalism instead of a celebration of diversity: the instrumentalist view seeks to assimilate marriage migrants into the society at the cost of their own cultural richness and favors foreign workers coming from economically developed countries. On the other hand improved competitiveness has worked as an incentive to make the country more accepting of multiculturalism through different education programs.

Then what does this kind of a multicultural policy mean for international couples and multicultural families? Because female marriage migrants are needed in order to raise the dropping fertility rate, the multicultural policy focuses heavily on the assimilation of women of foreign origin. This has resulted into various supportive programs provided for people of multicultural families by the Multicultural Family Support Centers. These services have been found beneficial in helping multicultural families getting used to Korean family life and society. However, because governmental actors seem to be biased against families consisting of a Korean wife and a husband of foreign origin, it cannot be said that the state is yet completely inclusive of international couples and multicultural families. Furthermore, heavy support for arranged intermarriages has created various problems for the parties involved, although these issues have been addressed through tightening of visa requirements. In addition, the pursuit of multiculturalism in such an instrumentalist way has been argued to increase prejudice among natives, which is likely to affect international couples and their families as well.

From another point of view, the visible support given to international couples and multicultural families in the name of multiculturalism is likely to encourage the occurrence of even more international romantic relationships. For now this development is most noticeably seen in the unions of Korean men and foreign born women who meet through matchmaking services with the sponsorship of local governments. However, if intermarriage becomes more normalized, the society is likely to become less prejudiced towards people of foreign origin through the extended effect of intergroup contact, as suggested by Kalmijn (1998: 396). Such a development is also validated by the intergroup contact hypothesis. Lessened prejudice successively creates circumstances more open for intergroup interaction, which in turn makes mixed marriage more common, as proposed by Dumănescu, Mârza & Eppel (2014: 2–3). In addition, the afore-mentioned survey measuring acceptance of multiculturalism in Korea found that younger people are more accepting of multiculturalism which makes it is probable that attitudes are improved through multicultural education. Thus, even if the Korean multiculturalism often excludes certain types of couples and families, it might still affect the number of international couples in a positive way, and ameliorate attitudes towards people in international relationships.

When it comes to generalizing the afore-described results, however, both surveys have multiple significant shortcomings. First of all, because of limitations in the ways of distribution, the amount of responses for each survey is quite low. It also has to be recognized that the surveys were spread by myself, a person who is not Korean, which automatically resulted into most of the respondents being people who have at least one friend that is not of a Korean origin and some contact with non-Korean people. Therefore, the sample of this study is quite biased: only 13.2 % of respondents of the first questionnaire had no foreign friends at all, while the rest reported having at least two to five non-Korean friends. Comparing the result to that of the survey about multicultural acceptance, 94.8 % of around 4,000 respondents reported having no immigrant friends (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family 2019a: 106). This is significant because it implies that in reality contact with people of another origin is not frequent for a majority of South Koreans.

For similar reasons, the age range of the respondents was also very narrow. In the quantitative questionnaire only one respondent chose an age group that implied their age was over 33 years. The qualitative survey also gathered responses mostly from people in their 20s, with only two exceptions. As already discussed earlier in this chapter, it is likely that younger generations have more open views towards international relationships and multiculturalism in general. The survey about multicultural acceptance demonstrated that not only children are more accepting of multiculturalism but also that people in their 20s and 30s are notably more open to it than people in their 50s and 60s (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family 2019a: 71). It is likely that the results are skewed towards positive attitudes because of the limited diversity of the sample.

Therefore, for more reliable and descriptive results the surveys would have to be spread to a wider audience consisting of Koreans from various different backgrounds and ages. It is very likely that a larger sample would reveal less favorable attitudes. I base this on the less positive results of the survey measuring acceptance of multiculturalism that found the average score of acceptance among adults was 52.8 points out of 100. The same survey reported the willingness of adults to interact with immigrants only reached a score of 42.48 points. (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family 2019a: 214.) Because it has been established that one of the conditions for intermarriage to occur is openness for contact with outgroup members, low acceptance

of multiculturalism and willingness for interaction are sure to affect the acceptance and openness towards international dating, marriage and childbearing as well.

Another limitation of the surveys stems from the questions themselves. Because inquiring about every type of non-Korean person or every foreign nationality is not possible for a short survey, aside from the section with more detailed checkbox grid questions the surveys mostly deal with non-Korean people or foreigners as one big group. This is why it seems to have been difficult for some of the respondents to report their opinions on the provided statements: a few of them left comments saying that their opinions could be different depending on the nationality of the foreigner and that foreigner as a word has too wide of a definition. That being the case, it could be beneficial to study the effect of nationality in attitudes towards intermarriage in a more detailed manner.

As for the qualitative material gathered through the second survey, it proved to be difficult to gather responses that properly reflected on the attitudes of Korean people towards the topic. This is undeniably due to the way the questions were formed. The idea was to provide the respondents with background information and a few general questions to help them think about the topic, but many respondents seemed to only answer to one of the provided questions. I expect this method would have worked better in the setting of an interview: as an interviewer I could have asked more questions to expand on the thoughts of the participants. The original plan for this thesis was indeed to conduct a few interviews on top of the quantitative questionnaire, but due to unforeseen circumstances I had to settle for another survey instead. Therefore, I believe interviews would have been a more fruitful method for gathering more descriptive qualitative data.

In addition, as brought up by one of the respondents in the qualitative survey, it is also possible that not all respondents would be truly willing to date or start a family with another origin, despite having answered positively to the statements in the questionnaire. Indeed, it is hard to know if the way people answer survey questions translates to their behavior in reality, which is a common problem when it comes to the study of attitudes through questionnaires. LaPiere (1934/2010: 11) demonstrated in his often-cited study that questionnaires only provide information about the way respondents believe they would act in hypothetical situations, because of which

questionnaire responses do not guarantee how people would act in real life. This highlights the importance of extensive qualitative data that could give room for more applicable interpretation of the study results.

6 Concluding remarks

As intermarriage has become significantly more common in Korea in the past few decades, the consequent rise in the number of multicultural families and mixed children has started a new development in the dynamics of the society that has traditionally emphasized national homogeneity. At the same time, Korean people have more and more opportunities to encounter people of other ethnicities and nationalities. This is not only because of the growing number of immigrants in the country but also a consequence of increased overseas travel.

Inspired by these changes that have undoubtedly made interaction between Korean and non-Korean people more ordinary, this thesis set out to find a connection between intergroup contact and attitudes Korean people hold towards international couples and multicultural families. In regard to the research questions, it was found that although there was no strong positive monotonic correlation between the two, the questionnaire respondents who had repeated friendly contact with people of foreign origin seemed to hold more positive attitudes. Perceiving negative ingroup or outgroup norms did not result into negative attitudes. Other factors that seemed to affect attitudes to a certain extent were the type of relationship in question, sex of the respondent and perceived gender roles, age and generational experiences, as well as whether the international relationships concern Korean people in general or the respondent personally. However, the limitations of the conducted surveys, such as small sample size and lack of diversity, suggest the results should not be generalized to represent the opinions and experiences of the general public. As for the multicultural policy practiced by the state, it is often perceived to be very centered on fixing issues related to economic competitiveness. Because multicultural families are seen to be essential for the future of the nation they receive various support from the state, but often in a way that prefers families of female migrants over those of male migrants. At the same time, it is expected that the increase in the amount of international couples and multicultural families will improve attitudes, and eventually make the society more open to the practice of intermarriage.

Taking all of this into account and considering the limitations discussed in the previous chapter, my study barely seems to scratch the surface of the topic. The study did not find a clear causal relationship between intergroup contact and attitudes

towards international intimate relationships, which indicates the need for additional study. In addition, we do not know what prompted respondents without any intergroup contact to display positive attitudes, or why many respondents were more open to the idea of dating than marriage. Moreover, although it seems natural that there would be differences in attitudes between younger and older people, it remains unclear whether the differences are a consequence of different amounts of intergroup contact, differing values or other factors. These issues and many other questions should be addressed in further studies.

Regarding the intergroup contact hypothesis and attitudes in Korea, I argue that more attention should be paid to the effects of media content on attitudes. As established in the earlier chapters, multiple studies have found a connection between attitudes and positive portrayals of outgroup members in media. Because Korea overall is still very homogeneous despite the notable increase in the number of immigrants, for some people the only change to encounter foreigners is through different forms of media. It has been suggested that the way press media portrays immigrants might have a notable effect on how the attitudes of the general population are formed in Korea: for example, when reminded of the nation's past as a sending country of migrant workers, views towards foreign workers in Korea became more empathetic (Park, K. 2014: 1580). It is likely that media has a similar role in molding attitudes towards international couples, and during my time in Korea I personally noticed the inclusion of international couples and multicultural families in many television shows, such as *The Return of Superman* (Kang 2013) and *Global Family* (Jeong, S. 2015). Therefore, the role of media as a provider of positive exemplars requires more focus.

On the other hand, when studying mixed marriage, it must be taken into account that willingness to date or marry outside of one's own group is not exclusively due to lack of prejudice or opportunity of contact, but is also influenced by other factors. Emphasis is most often given to preferences about socioeconomic and cultural resources: people tend to choose spouses who possess attractive socioeconomic resources that positively contribute to the status of the family unit, and who share a cultural similarity that leads to shared values, opinions and worldviews (Kalmijn 1998: 398–399). Thus, in order to get a more comprehensive idea of how Koreans react to international couples and the idea of being in an international relationship, further study should assess attitudes towards relationships in a more general sense as well.

Finding out what people look for in a partner and what kind of factors they deem important in a relationship might reveal more about why they feel a certain way about dating or marrying internationally.

In relation to this, I believe a similar study should be conducted with the inclusion of overseas Koreans. As described in the second chapter, existing literature reveals state actors have visibly showed bias towards Korean Americans and against ethnic Koreans from less developed countries in the past. However, when it comes to intimate relationships, are ethnically Korean people who have spent most of their time outside of Korea considered foreigners? Are they part of the ingroup or the outgroup? Kalmijn (1998: 399) brings forth the idea that shared cultural resources result in attraction through similarity in taste and knowledge. Based on this, it could be worthwhile to put greater focus on overseas Koreans and cultural differences, as it could reveal whether the concept of shared blood beats that of shared culture. By the same token, research about such cultural factors could extend to consider the children of multicultural families who only have one Korean parent, and consequently work on improving attitudes towards mixed children whose number is expected to increase in the future.

In a more general sense, one of the issues of current research on international marriage and multicultural families stems from the gendered nature of the phenomenon. Inter-marriage in Korea occurs more often between Korean men and women of foreign origin, which not only has made the multicultural policy but also the research related to it very gendered. Most of the available studies and news articles about the topic are related to the female marriage migrants and their families, which makes information about relationships between Korean women and foreign-born men hard to come by. I propose further attention should be based on the experiences of those couples that are often excluded from the narratives of international marriage and multiculturalism.

This thesis has examined attitudes of South Korean people towards international couples and multicultural families. As a country with a strong history of emphasizing ethnic homogeneity, the increasing occurrence of relationships that exceeds national boundaries poses a challenge for traditional values and ways of thinking. Within the framework of multiculturalism, the challenges lie in the question

of how to reconcile the realization of national interests with the improvement of the life quality of multicultural families and immigrants in general. As this study provides a peek at the attitudes held towards international romantic relationships through the perspective of intergroup contact, I hope that the increase in opportunities for contact between different ethnic groups, as well as the fluidity of attitudes and multiculturalism as ever-changing concepts, allow for a bright future for Korea as a truly inclusive multicultural society.

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Appendix 1. Quantitative Survey

설문 조사에 응하기 전 아래의 설명을 자세히 읽어주시기 바랍니다.

본 조사는 석사 학위 논문을 위해 하는 것입니다. 다른 문화간의 관계에 대한 한국사람들의 생각을 연구하여 한국 사회를 탐구하는 것이 이 논문의 목적입니다. 응답자의 답변은 논문만을 위해서 사용되며 응답자의 신분은 철저히 익명으로 처리됩니다. 본 조사는 여러 질문들이 포함되어 있으며 각 질문의 상단에 있는 지시사항을 자세히 읽고 응답자의 생각과 느낌에 따라 대답해 주시기 바랍니다. 설문 조사에 응하는데 소요되는 시간은 약 10 분이며 귀중한 시간을 내어주셔서 감사합니다. 조사에 대한 질문, 문제, 의견 혹은 궁금한 점이 있으면 아래의 이메일 주소로 문의해주시기 바랍니다: kia.kaartti@helsinki.fi. 또한, 설문지 내에 주제에 대한 의견을 작성할 수 있는 부분이 있습니다.

Please read carefully before responding to the survey.

This survey is conducted for a graduate thesis. The purpose of the thesis is to examine the Korean society through studying the attitudes Korean people have towards intercultural relationships. The responses of the participants will only be used for this thesis and the identities of the participants will be treated as completely anonymous.

As this survey will include various types of questions, we wish that you will carefully read the instructions in the beginning of every section and answer truthfully according to your own thoughts and feelings.

It will take around 10 minutes to complete the survey. Thank you for taking the time to respond.

If you have any questions, problems or comments related to the survey, you can send them directly to the following email address: kia.kaartti@helsinki.fi. There is also a part in the survey in which you can write your own views regarding the topic.

First Major Section

아래 6 가지 질문들을 5 개 옵션 중에서 자신의 생각과 경험에 가장 가까운 것을 선택해 주세요. For the following six questions, please choose the option that is closest to your own thoughts and experiences.

1. 외국인 친구가 몇명이 있으십니까?

(1 = 아무도 없음, 2 = 1 명, 3 = 2-5 명, 4 = 5-10 명, 5 = 10 명 이상)

How many non-Korean friends do you have?

(1 = none, 2 = one, 3 = two to five, 4 = five to ten, 5 = ten or more)

2. 외국인 친구와 같이 시간을 얼마나 자주 보내십니까?

(1 = 전혀, 2 = 가끔, 3 = 종종, 4 = 자주, 5 = 매일)

How often do you spend time with non-Korean friends?

(1 = never, 2 = occasionally, 3 = sometimes, 4 = often, 5 = everyday)

3. 외국인 사람을 일상 생활에서 얼마나 자주 만나십니까?

(1 = 전혀, 2 = 가끔, 3 = 종종, 4 = 자주, 5 = 매일)

How often do you encounter non-Korean people in your everyday life?

(1 = never, 2 = occasionally, 3 = sometimes, 4 = often, 5 = everyday)

4. 본인이 알기로는 본인의 동료 (학교나 일자리) 중에서 외국인 친구가 있는 사람이 몇 명입니까? (1 = 아무도, 2 = 한두 명, 3 = 절반 정도, 4 = 절반 이상, 5 = 대부분)

As far as you know, how many of your Korean colleagues or classmates have non-Korean friends? (1 = none, 2 = a few, 3 = about half, 4 = more than half, 5 = most)

5. 본인의 친구 중에서 외국인 친구가 있는 사람이 몇 명입니까?

(1 = 아무도 없음, 2 = 1 명, 3 = 2-5 명, 4 = 5-10 명, 5 = 10 명 이상)

How many of your Korean friends have non-Korean friends?

(1 = none, 2 = one, 3 = two to five, 4 = five to ten, 5 = ten or more)

6. 본인의 가족 중에서 외국인 친구가 있는 사람이 몇 명입니까?

(1 = 아무도 없음, 2 = 1 명, 3 = 2-5 명, 4 = 5-10 명, 5 = 10 명 이상)

How many of your family members have non-Korean friends?

(1 = none, 2 = one, 3 = two to five, 4 = five to ten, 5 = ten or more)

아래 6 가지 질문들을 자신의 생각과 경험에 가장 가까운 것을 표시해 주십시오.

옵션 예시: 1 = 전혀 좋아하지 않다 - 2 = 좋아하지 않다 - 3 = 보통이다 - 4 =

좋아한다 - 5 = 매우 좋아한다. For the following six questions, please choose the

option that is closest to your own thoughts and experiences.

7. 한국사람은 일반적으로 외국인에게 얼마나 친절하다고 생각하십니까?

(1 = 전혀 친절하지 않음; 5 = 아주 친절함)

In general, how friendly do you think Koreans are to foreigners?

(1 = not friendly at all; 5 = very friendly)

8. 한국사람은 일반적으로 외국인을 얼마나 좋아한다고 생각하십니까?

(1 = 전혀 안 좋아함; 5 = 많이 좋아함)

In general, how much do you think Koreans like foreigners?

(1 = not at all; 5 = a lot)

9. 한국사람은 일반적으로 외국인과 시간을 보내는 것을 얼마나 좋아한다고

생각하십니까? (1 = 전혀 안 좋아함; 5 = 많이 좋아함)

In general, how happy do you think Koreans would be to spend time with foreigners?

(1 = not happy at all; 5 = very happy)

10. 외국인은 일반적으로 한국사람에게 얼마나 친절하다고 생각하십니까?

(1 = 전혀 친절하지 않음; 5 = 아주 친절함)

In general, how friendly do you think foreigners are to Korean people?

(1 = not at all friendly; 5 = very friendly)

11. 외국인은 일반적으로 한국사람을 얼마나 좋아한다고 생각하십니까?

(1 = 전혀 안 좋아함; 5 = 많이 좋아함)

In general, how much do you think foreigners like Korean people?

(1 = not at all; 5 = a lot)

12. 외국인은 일반적으로 한국사람과 시간을 보내는 것을 얼마나 좋아한다고

생각하십니까? (1 = 전혀 안 좋아함; 5 = 많이 좋아함)

In general, how happy do you think foreigners would be to spend time with Korean people? (1 = not happy at all; 5 = very happy)

아래 5 가지 질문들을 예 또는 아니오를 선택해 주세요.

For the following five questions, please choose 'yes' or 'no'.

General information regarding experiences with international couples and multicultural families

13. 내가 아는 국제 커플이 있다.

I know an international couple.

14. 내가 아는 다문화 가정이다.

I know a multicultural family.

15. 내 가족 중에 한국인이 아닌 사람이 있다. (예: 결혼을 통해 가족이 된 사람)

There is a non-Korean person in my family (e.g. through marriage).

16. 나는 현재 한국인이 아닌 사람을 사귀고 있거나 과거에 사귀 적이 있다.

I have dated/am dating a non-Korean person.

17. 나는 한국인이 아닌 사람과 결혼했거나 결혼한 적이 있다.

I have married/am married to a non-Korean person.

Second Major Section

아래 18 가지 질문들을 자신의 생각과 경험에 가장 가까운 것을 표시해 주십시오.

옵션 설명: 1 = 전혀 그렇지 않다 - 2 = 그렇지 않다 - 3 = 보통이다 - 4 = 그렇다 -

5 = 매우 그렇다. For the following 18 questions, please choose the option that is closest to your own thoughts and experiences. Option explanation: 1 = Strongly disagree - 2 = Disagree - 3 = Neither agree or disagree - 4 = Agree - Strongly agree.

18. 한국인은 외국인과 사귀는 것이 괜찮다.

I think it is okay for a Korean to date a foreigner.

19. 한국인은 외국인과 결혼하는 것이 괜찮다.

I think it is okay for a Korean to marry a foreigner.

20. 한국인은 외국인과 아이를 가지는 것이 괜찮다.

I think it is okay for a Korean to have children with a foreigner.

21. 내가 봤을 때 나의 부모님은 한국인이 외국인과 사귀는 것이 괜찮다고

생각하신다. I believe my parents think it is okay for a Korean to date a foreigner.

22. 내가 봤을 때 나의 부모님은 한국인이 외국인과 결혼하는 것이 괜찮다고

생각하신다. I believe my parents think it is okay for a Korean to marry a foreigner.

23. 내가 봤을 때 나의 부모님은 한국인이 외국인과 아이를 가지는 것이 괜찮다고
생각하신다. I believe my parents think it is okay for a Korean to have children with a
foreigner.

24. 내가 봤을 때 한국사람은 일반적으로 외국인과 사귀는 것이
괜찮다고 생각한다. I believe that Korean people in general think it is okay for a
Korean to date a foreigner.

25. 내가 봤을 때 한국사람은 일반적으로 외국인과 결혼하는 것이
괜찮다고 생각한다. I believe that Korean people in general think it is okay for a
Korean to marry a foreigner.

26. 내가 봤을 때 한국사람은 일반적으로 외국인과 아이를 가지는 것이
괜찮다고 생각한다. I believe that Korean people in general it is okay for a Korean to
have children with a foreigner.

27. 내가 외국인과 사귀는 것을 고려해 볼 수 있다.
I would consider dating a foreigner.

28. 내가 외국인과 결혼하는 것을 고려해 볼 수 있다.
I would consider marrying a foreigner.

29. 내가 외국인과 아이를 가지는 것을 고려해 볼 수 있다.
I would consider having children with a foreigner.

30. 내가 외국인과 사귀다면 내 부모님은 허락하실 거라고 생각한다.
I believe my parents would approve of me dating a foreigner.

31. 내가 외국인과 결혼한다면 내 부모님은 허락하실 거라고 생각한다.

I believe my parents would approve of me marrying a foreigner.

32. 내가 외국인과 아이를 가진다면 내 부모님은 허락하실 거라고 생각한다.

I believe my parents would approve of me having children with a foreigner.

33. 내가 외국인과 사귀다면 한국사람은 일반적으로 괜찮다고 생각할 것이다.

I believe that Korean people in general would approve of me dating a foreigner.

34. 내가 외국인과 결혼한다면 한국사람은 일반적으로 괜찮다고 생각할 것이다.

I believe that Korean people in general would approve of me marrying a foreigner.

35. 내가 외국인과 아이를 가진다면 한국사람은 일반적으로 괜찮다고 생각할

것이다. I believe that Korean people in general would approve of me having children with a foreigner.

Third Major Section

36. 다음 집단에 속하는 사람 중 본인이 사귀거나, 결혼하거나 같이 아이를 가지는 것을 고려해 볼 수 있는 사람을 선택해 주십시오. 모든 사람은 비슷한 교육 환경 및 경제적 배경에서 온 사람이라고 생각해 보십시오. 여러 옵션을 선택하고 아무 옵션을 선택하는 것도 가능합니다. From each of the following groups, please choose the people you would consider dating, marrying or having children with. Please imagine that all the people come from a similar educational and economic background. (Options according to race)

37. 다음 집단에 속하는 사람 중 본인이 사귀거나, 결혼하거나 같이 아이를 가지는 것을 고려해 볼 수 있는 사람을 선택해 주십시오. 모든 사람은 비슷한 교육 환경 및 경제적 배경에서 온 사람이라고 생각해 보십시오. 여러 옵션을 선택하고 아무

옵션을 선택하는 것도 가능합니다. From each of the following groups, please choose the people you would consider dating, marrying or having children with. Please imagine that all the people come from a similar educational and economic background. (Options according to geographic regions)

37. 설문 조사의 주제에 대한 의견이나 조사에 응하시다가 생긴 생각을 여기에 써주세요. 쓰실 것이 없으시면 마지막 부분으로 진행해 주세요.

If you have any views or thoughts regarding the topic of the survey, please write them here. If you don't have anything to write, please move to the last part.

Demographics

마지막으로, 설문 결과를 분석하기 위해 답변자의 관한 정보를 조금 모을 것입니다.

제공해 주신 정보도 익명으로 처리되며 논문 이외에는 이용되지 않습니다.

Lastly, in order to analyze the results of the survey, I would like to collect some information about the participants. The information you provide will be treated as anonymous and will not be used for anything other than this thesis.

1. 본인의 성별을 선택해 주세요. (남/여/명시 안함)

Please choose your sex. (M/F/Not specifying)

2. 본인의 연령대를 선택해 주세요 (한국나이).

Please choose your age group (Korean age).

3. 본인의 교육 학력 사항을 골라 주세요. (중학, 고등학, 학사, 석사, 박사, 기타)

Please pick your education level. (Middle school, High school, Bachelor's degree, Master's degree, Doctoral degree)

4. 본인의 종교를 선택해주세요. (개신교, 불교, 천주교, 무교 / 종교 없음, 기타)

Please choose your religion. (Protestantism, Buddhism, Catholicism, Atheist/No religion, other)

5. 해외 여행은 얼마나 자주 가십니까? (2 년에 한번미만, 2 년에 한번, 1 년에 한번, 1 년에 두번, 1 년에 세번이상) How often do you travel abroad? (Less than every two years, One every two years, Once a year, Twice a year, More than twice a year)

6. 한국이 아닌 다른 나라에서 체류했던 적이 있습니까?

Have you ever lived in a country other than South Korea? (Yes/No)

7. 이전 질문에 예라고 대답하셨다면 그 나라의 이름과 체류하였던 기간을 여기에 작성해주세요 (예: 미국, 3 년). If you answered yes to the previous question, please write here the name of the country and the time you lived there (for example: USA, 3 years).

Appendix 2. Qualitative Survey

설문 조사에 응하기 전 아래의 설명을 자세히 읽어주시기 바랍니다.

본 조사는 석사 학위 논문을 위해 하는 것이며, 올 봄에 실시된 다른 조사의 결과와 공식 통계에 따라 재구성되었습니다. 이 설문조사는 자유롭게 대답할 수 있는 주관식 질문으로 구성되어 있습니다. 이 논문과 연구조사의 목적은 다른 문화간의 관계에 대한 한국사람들의 생각을 연구하여 한국 사회를 탐구하는 것입니다. 응답자의 답변은 논문만을 위해서 사용되며 응답자의 신분은 철저히 익명으로 처리됩니다.

질문을 자세히 읽고 본인의 생각과 느낌에 따라 질문에 몇줄로 대답해 주시기 바랍니다. 또한, 본인이 그렇게 생각하는 이유도 짧게 설명해 주시기 바랍니다. 귀중한 시간을 내어주셔서 감사합니다.

Please read carefully before responding to the survey.

This survey is conducted for a graduate thesis, and it was made according to official statistics and the results of another survey conducted in the spring. It consists of open questions you can answer freely. The purpose of this survey and the thesis is to examine the Korean society through studying the attitudes Korean people have towards intercultural relationships. The responses of the participants will only be used for this thesis and the identities of the participants will be treated as completely anonymous.

We wish that you will carefully read the instructions in the beginning of every section and answer truthfully according to your own thoughts and feelings. In addition, please write shortly the reason for your feelings.

Thank you for taking the time to respond.

1. 올 봄에 실시된 설문 조사 결과에 따르면 대부분의 응답자들은 외국인과 연애를 하거나 가정을 꾸리는 것에 대해 고려해 본적이 있다고 대답하였습니다. 이 결과에 대해 어떻게 생각하십니까? 이 결과가 한국 사람들의 일반적인 견해를 대표한다고 생각하십니까? 결과가 이렇게 나온 이유가 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?

According to the results of the questionnaire conducted this spring, most of the respondents were open to considering romantic relationships with foreigners. What do you think about this result? Do you think this result represents the general opinion of Korean people? Why do you think this result came to be?

2. 올 봄에 실시된 설문 조사 결과에 따르면 한국인들은 외국인과 결혼하는 것과 아이를 가지는 것보다 외국인을 사귀는 것을 더 선호한다고 볼 수 있습니다. 이 결과에 대해 어떻게 생각하십니까? 이 결과가 한국 사람들의 일반적인 견해를 대표한다고 생각하십니까? 결과가 이렇게 나온 이유가 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?

According to the results of the questionnaire conducted this spring, Korean people are more open to dating foreigners than marrying or having children with them. What do you think about this result? Do you think this result represents the general opinion of Korean people? Why do you think this result came to be?

3. 올 봄에 실시된 설문 조사 결과에 따르면 한국 사람들은 외국인에 대한 호감과 비호감이 보통 국적에 따라 달라진다고 합니다. 따라서 외국인과 연애관계를 고려해 볼 수 있는지도 국적에 따라 달라지는 것 같습니다. 이 결과에 대해 어떻게 생각하십니까? 이 결과가 한국 사람들의 일반적인 견해를 대표한다고 생각하십니까? 결과가 이렇게 나온 이유가 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?

According to the results of the questionnaire conducted this spring, Korean people seem to think that favorable and unfavorable opinions on foreigners usually depend on their home country. Accordingly, it also affects whether Koreans can consider

having a relationship with them or not. What do you think about this result? Do you think this result represents the general opinion of Korean people? Why do you think this result came to be?

4. 공식 통계에 따르면 2018 년 국제 결혼 중 한국 남성과 외국 여성의 결혼이 73.2%, 외국남성과 한국여성의 결혼 비중이 26.8%를 차지하여 국제결혼의 대부분이 한국남성과 외국여성의 사례라고 밝혀졌습니다. 결과가 이렇게 나온 이유가 무엇이라고 생각하십니까? 그 차이에 대해 어떻게 생각하십니까?

According to official statistics, out of all international marriages in 2018, 73.2% are marriages between Korean men and foreign women and 26.8% between Korean women and foreign men. Therefore, the majority of international marriages consist of Korean men and foreign women.

Why do you think this result came to be? What do you think about this result?

5. 공식 통계에 따르면 국제 결혼 비율은 1990 년 1.2%에서 2018 년 8.8%로 증가했습니다. 또한, 다문화 출생 비중은 2008 년 2.9%에서 2017 년 5.2%로 늘어났습니다. 이 결과에 대해 어떻게 생각하십니까? 본인의 일상생활에서도 국제결혼과 다문화 가정의 수가 예전에 비해 증가되었음을 느낄수있습니까?

According to official statistics, the percentage of international marriages has risen from 1.2% in 1990 to 8.8% in 2018. In addition, the percentage of births in multicultural households has risen from 2.9% in 2008 to 5.2% in 2017.

What do you think about these results? Do you think you can feel the increase of international marriages and multicultural families in your everyday life?